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Kui Kondhs : Observations of an administrative officer in the Kondh Hills in the early Forties.

U. N. Pattnaik.

Kondh Village :

[It will be in the fitness of things to describe a Kondh village to start with. Except for a few major villages a Kondh village is generally a small unit consisting of 8 to 10 houses. The small villages grow in size as new comers come to take shelter with the original residents. They are usually related to the latter and come to the new site on their invitation. Non-Tribals also come and mingle with the population with the permission of the older resident. These new comers construct their houses either contiguous to the existing houses or detached, according to availability of space.

The village site is usually selected with reference to some geographical advantages. In almost all cases the site is located close to a small hillock which is not frequented by carnivorous animals and which is useful as a fuel reserve and serves the Adivasis in many other ways. He collects fuel from such hillocks whenever he runs short of his stock of fuel. He collects *slaf* leaves also for his domestic purposes. Edible leaves, flowers, roots etc., are also collected by the children of the Kondhs.

The level of the site is usually tapering towards the paddy lands of the village. Paddy lands are located in the valley between two

hillocks or two areas of high lands. Between the valley proper and the hillocks there is scrub jungle of thorny bushes and creepers and close to it a few fruit bearing trees are also to be seen. This vegetation keeps the village cool during summer months. Mango, Jack-fruit are also there in the close vicinity of the village and are generally common property. There are a few sago palm trees also in the outskirts of the village.

Drainage System :

The site is also chosen with reference to the course of the rain drainage in order to avoid direct rain drainage which flows in torrents during rains. There is no drainage system in the street proper and rain drainage flows down the gentle slope that is to be seen in the street. One therefore finds that there are no rain gullies formed by the rain drainage which flows with great velocity.

The next important factor in selecting a village site is its proximity to a perennial spring. There are no wells in the area and the people depend upon the spring for drinking water and for washing etc., purposes. The spring, therefore is a necessity and it is maintained properly by community labour of the village. The spring is usually below the foot of a tree like mango, fig etc.

Another important factor in selecting a village site seems to be its proximity to land capable of growing paddy. As mentioned above the paddy lands of the village lie very close to it. These paddy lands were originally a small group of fields but in course of time due to land hunger of the tribals, he has added many more fields to the originally small group by scooping the sides. From the other side of the village the dry lands begin and end with the foot-hills. On this land Jawar, Turmeric, Ragl, Ginger, Rape, Kutthi, etc., are grown. At the upper end of this dry land closer to the foot hills turmeric is grown. This patch of cultivation extends up to the Podu area on the hill slopes or the hill sides.

Names of Villages :

The names of the villages are peculiar in their own way. The endings of the village names are of different types. Some villages have their ending in the word 'Gando', some other have 'Kuppa' and some others have endings with the word 'Guda'. As an ending the word 'Nenu' means a street. Thus in the main village *Kalingando* (or *Kalinga* in Oriya) there are many streets which are named as *Maddi Naju*, *Bado Naju*, *Brodi Naju* etc. These streets are named with reference to topographical marks. The names are derived from the location of the street also such as *Madi naju*, *Sendo naju* which mean the middle street and the upper street. *Brodi Naju* is the name of a street which had a *Bhadra Tree* (*Terminalia*). *Mahanaju* got its name from a big mango tree which was existing when the street squatted originally or is at present alive. To refer to a village as a *Naju* is not very correct because almost every major village has several streets with common names indicated by the topographical details. If asked as to which village he belongs the Kondh replies that he belongs to *Kalingando* and to such and such street therein.

The name of the major villages are after the names of remote ancestors who first came to stay in the area. Thus the village which first was occupied by *Kali Malik* or *Padhan* came to be known as *Kalingando*. It is the residence of a sub-clan which was first selected by one *Kali* probably a century ago. Similarly in the case of *Ralikando*, *Bakingando*, *Jeamangando* the original ancestors were *Raka*, *Baka*, *Zika*, respectively. The names of some villages have the ending in the word 'Kuppa' such as *Kumbar Kuppa*, *Adar Kuppa* etc. Some other villages have the endings with name of *guda* i.e. *Kutiguda*, *Baliguda*, *Nediguda* etc.

Laying Out of a Village :

Usually the village headman or *Malik* constructs his house on crest of a mound and his signposts and others have their houses on the slope towards the spring or taper in other directions. There are certain castes which have been adopted into Kondh society by reason of some remote inter-caste marriage. These families live in separate houses along with other Kondhs. These adopted Kondhs are the Kondh potter, Kondh *Sundri*, Kondh blacksmith, Kondh *Gouda*. The *panos* who are more or less part of the Kondh society live in the same street as the Kondhs. In some villages there are non-Kondh Oriya settlers and in some cases there are *Gouds* also. These sections of people live in adjacent houses in the village. They retain their own customs and habits although they generally join the Kondh worship and rituals.

The houses in the Kondh village are in parallel rows with contiguity of location. In some villages there are detached houses also when raw combers settle in the village. Besides the main street, a few rows take off from the main street at right angles or are situated behind it.

House of a Kondh :

Description of a Kondh house is necessary. It indicates the level of mental development of a Kondh in these early days. Communications were very bad, searches were very cruel and generally the poverty of the Kondh was such that he had to think of these things when constructing his house. Kondhs are living in plank houses which is even now the case among the poorer sections in the remote areas. It was easier for a Kondh to use timber and planks for building his house. Fetching water from the spring, preparing mud also requires more than one person and there is no such person available. The Kondh therefore prefers to construct his house with hand made planks. Sawing was out of question because in Ganjam agency by 1938 there was only one group of sawers. A Kondh cuts down *set*, *Peasal* and even *Sishu* tree for using as walls of his house. These planks are 10' to 12' long, about 2" thick and about 12" to 14" broad. They are placed one over another on the narrow edges of the planks and held together by vertical *balah* on either side to hold them in position. These *balah* in their turn are held together by means of wooden bolts prepared by the Kondh himself. There are no carpenters in the area except quite a few Kondhs who have learnt the art. Therefore the Kondh has to do this type of carpentry by himself.

The house is generally 10' X 20', made of planks. Its height is usually 6' to 8'. The crevices between the planks are filled with mud to keep out the wind and insects from getting into the house. The door way of the house is the only opening to it. There is no window to the house. The door is a single leaf one. It is of generally *Set* or Mango planks and hand hewn and hand sized.

There are two to three steps leading to the door way. There are *varandahs* on either side 2' to 3' in height and made of mud. These

varandah are kept very clean by mud plaster and some times with hand designs done by the girls. The locking arrangement of the door is a contrivance, which can be operated both from inside and outside. There is no fear of house theft and this locking arrangement is only to get the door shut when the people go out in the day or go in to sleep in the night. Usually there is a small garden enclosed by split bamboo on either side of the house on which tobacco or brinjal is grown. There is no backyard to the house and in order to keep his piggery safe from prowling wild animals the Kondh has a small enclosure close to his backyard. This is made of *balah* fixed into the ground and inter twined with split bamboo. He has a small compartment made vertically on the side of the *varandah* which is closed with a trap door during night. In this, his fowls are kept during night. If the fowls are few, they are kept along with the goats in the main living room.

In the front of the house there is bench-like contrivance about 2' high. It consists of a plank 2" thick about 5' long and 8" to 10" broad which is fixed on the top of 2 posts sunk into the ground. This is known as *Dudape* or *dape*. It is used for unloading the brass or earthen pots filled with water placed one over the other and fetched by the woman from the village spring. Water pots full with water placed one over the other cannot be taken into the house through the door way and therefore they are unloaded there. Cleared utensils are also fetched from the spring and kept on this *dudape* before they are taken in. The males use this *dudape* as a bench where they sit and smoke their *kachila* in the afternoon when at leisure.

The superstructure of the house is of split and seasoned bamboo with roofing of paddy thatch or *sabar* grass. Paddy thatch is very scarce and generally the Kondh collects *Sabar*

grass from the hills at the beginning of summer. Split bamboos are used for rafters and the beams are of unsized timber. In front of the house of the Malik or *Nomba* the *Dharani* *Penu* is located and the Deity is propitiated from time to time according to the Kondh custom.

On the opposite side of the tobacco plot the Kondh has his fuel stock. He does not collect fuel during winter because wild animals are then active in the forest. It is impossible to collect fuel in the Rainy season because of heavy and prolonged rains. The Kondh, therefore, collects fuel and stocks it to last during the adverse seasons. He piles the fuel collected by him whether green or dry in a crude receptacle. A parallel row of poles is fixed on the ground. The fuel logs are kept one over the other up to a height of 8 to 10 ft. in this enclosure. These logs are cut in to pieces 8 to 10 ft. to store them in the above manner.

Acculturation has appeared in the area and is moving on with rapid and long strides. Naturally as every thing starts with home the pattern of house building is also undergoing a change. *Panos* who frequent the plain area and *oriya* settlers in *Mutha* head-quarters have their houses built of wattle and daub and the more affluent of them have walls of earth. The Kondh has started changing the pattern of his house. Moreover, with rapid de-forestation timber is becoming more and more scarce as the trees are cut and exported. Broad planks are a very great scarcity. Carrying water from spring to the house site, preparing mud was a problem but now a days the Kondh is able to get help from among his neighbours on a very small remuneration. There is no regular labour class in the hill for such purposes. Thus the house of planks is rapidly disappearing and houses of mud walls are coming up. This change is noticeable in the suburb of *oriya*

villages and small towns such as G. Udayagiri, Tikabali etc. In this mud house there is a back door and back yard. There is a small verandah at the back of the house. The back yard is used as an open air kitchen during the non-rainy days. Roof height of the house has also been changed. The door frames are not rough and are made as smooth as possible with hand axe. Single leaf doors are being replaced by double leaf doors. Separate cattle sheds are also being constructed near the house wherever possible. These cattle sheds are also used as the goat pen or as piggery pen. During the last 40 years there has been quite a good deal of change in the pattern, design etc., of the houses that are being constructed. Furniture like wooden cots, almshats and even chairs and tables are now a days being kept in the house. Boxes of wood are used for keeping jewellery and boxes of zinc sheets have of late come into use replacing the bamboo receptacles.

The house of an average Kondh who has no paddy land and who does not fetch enough jungle products the surplus of which he sells and makes money, has been described. The more prosperous have houses of mud walls.

The house of the Kondh is divided into two compartments one is 12' long and the other 8'. The breadth of house is 8 to 10'. The partition wall between these two compartments is either of plank or of small logs. There is a small opening on the rear end of the room to reach the kitchen proper. This is a smaller compartment. The kitchen space is only about 8' x 8' and there is a fire place in the kitchen which is of the traditional type. Close to the fire place there is a platform of planks fixed to 4 posts. The plat-form is used to keep water pots for daily use. Along with the water pots, a few utensils made of German silver or bell-metal are kept. Brass pots of the family are also kept on the plat-form. The quality and

size of these utensils depend upon the affluence of the family. The utensils are washed and cleaned at the village spring by the girls or housewives of the family in the morning. On the top of the fire place of the kitchen there is an attic on which new earthen pots are kept for future use. During rains earthen pots are not available in the locality. Therefore the Kondh house-wives keep a number of new pots seasoning them with the juice of *Anacardium* seeds to save them from easy breakage. Pots on the attic are also seasoned by the smoke of the kitchen. Thus doubly seasoned the pots last longer. Near the water pots is a small basket of split bamboo in which the treasured clothes of the Kondh are kept. In this receptacle the family ornaments of silver, German silver and brass are also kept. Gold ornaments and cash in rupee coins are usually buried underground in the kitchen space. In the kitchen space the *Loka* (laddle) either of Gourd or metal used for stirring the gruel is kept.

The living room of the Kondh needs description. It is like the Arc of Noah and contains all the necessities of the Kondh. It is small compact and cramped. It is so used that all the earthly possessions of the Kondh and his daily necessities are kept in it. The flooring of the room is of mud and it is well plastered. In the centre of the room there is a depression, a cup like stone is put in it. The stone cup is used for husking paddy. De-husking is done by means of an wooden appliance resembling a long club. Girls do the dehusking by beating the paddy with this implement. This appliance is called 'URAW'.

The sides of the roof are used in every possible manner as bracket. Dry maize is hung in the form of garlands from one end of the room to the other. Green *slan* leaf cups which the house wives generally prepare during spare hours are hung in garlands in hundreds. The

maize and cups get seasoned by the smoke of the kitchen and assume a dark brown colour. Musical instruments of the Kondh like *Dheeka*, *Khanjan*, *Flute*, *Chengu*, etc., are also hung from the roof or walls. Ripe pumpkins of the smaller size are also hung from the rafters. These pumpkins are for domestic consumption when the season of fresh pumpkins is over. Generally the Kondh does not have enough of this vegetable in unripe stage for consumption in the kitchen. If there is any surplus beyond his requirement, it is stored for future consumption after selling the surplus, if any, in the market. At different places in the roof sloping on either side the bow and arrows of the Kondh are tucked. The match lock if he has one is hung from the roof by a string of fibre and by its side the powder flask of gourd is hung. The cheap jewellery of the house hold, generally beads of seeds weeds and glass are kept in a small bamboo box and hung from the roof. Braided paddy stalks with paddy are also hung from the roof. Due to smoke of the kitchen throughout the whole day, the *slan* leaf cups, maize and all other things in the living room get coloured and assume a bronze colour.

A large number of the non-edible gounds are hung from the roof for future use. All the agricultural implements like *Godli*, *gabre* etc., the axe, the sickle, the javelin, the *Tangia* and other implements are also normally tucked into the roof in their selected places.

The living room provides accommodation for the parents and smaller children of the house. The grown up boys and girls would sleep in the youth lodges and maid lodges at night, as there is no space in the house for them to sleep in the night for obvious reasons. Small cots 4' X 2' woven with jungle fibre are used by the family whenever one is able to have this luxury. In the absence of these cots

the family sleeps on mats made of date leaves soft reeds etc...

At the end of the room there is a small mud plat-form about 8" high which runs throughout breadth of the room and is about 18" in breadth. In the centre of this small plat-form there is a fire place which is kept burning day and night during rainy and winter months to keep the house warm. The fire is very necessary for the Kondh during winter months when it is very cold and he has no warm clothing. During nights he sleeps with feet towards the fire place. One or two goats of the family and its fowls, if few, are kept near this fire place over night.

Food & food habits :

A description of the food and food habits of a kondh is given here. Rice is called *Pali* and very few Kondhs have rice diet for more than two months. In the absence of a pure rice diet they use rice sparingly mixing it with some cereals or millets. Edible leaves and roots are also mixed with this rice. Whenever the Kondh runs short of rice only cereals or millets are cooked in the gruel form and eaten. Very few Kondhs have bellmetal dishes and use *shil* leaf cups as utensils. Salt is served out separately on a leaf and very rarely a Kondh has a separate curry of millet, edible leaves etc. Maize, Bunner beans, Pumpkin, Green papaya, Green plantains are cooked as curry or are mixed with a handful of rice to make a sort of porridge. During fasting months (From February to August) the Kondh lives on the porridge described above. Powder of Sago palm heartwood, powdered margokemats, edible roots and leaves are the common food of the Kondh, during the lean months. Fish is a luxury and fishing is a sort of communal activity. The entire village go to the fishing ground which is a big lake or a minor river. Fishing goes on

from day to day for 3 or 4 days, the party staying in the camp. The fish caught are partly consumed on the spot and the larger portion is left drying on the flat sheet rocks nearby. At the end of the hunting the party leaves for its village with dry fish to be consumed in future.

Meat is a scarcity and generally goats are not butchered. Pigs are killed and eaten. Every family gets a small share of the venison after a hunt. The share of the family is sliced and hung on a string of fire and exposed to the sun. When the slices are completely dry they are kept in leaf bags for future use. During the lean months the dehydrated meat slices are boiled in water and taken as curry or boiled in the porridge. During a feast a buffalo is killed and the meat is served along with rice. The Kondh house-wife prepares cakes also out of maize powder and they are taken as food or snacks. The cakes are baked in fire, seeds of the beans are fried and eaten as snacks. Tamarind seeds are fried and powdered and the powder is used in the gruel with dry mahua flowers mixed with it.

The first meal and breakfast is between 8 to 9 A.M. and the second between 2 to 3 P.M. when the Kondh returns from field work. Thereafter there is no other meal and the Kondh goes to bed by 6 P.M. If the Kondh has to go to his turmeric field or to his bogdo he leaves his home in the early morning by about sun rise and his breakfast is taken to the field by his wife or daughter.

For seasoning curry mahua oil is used. The condiments are turmeric, chilly, and mustard. The use of spices is being copied of late. Eggs are used as food and are used only for propitiating the Gods. The Kondh does not take milk. He feels nauseate to the smell of boiling milk. The cows in the area not usually milked and are used as bullocks in the field.

During the mango season and jackfruit season the Kondhs live practically on ripe mango and the jackfruit. This is for about 2 months in a year. There is a variety of mango which ripens in the month of Ashada and this is known as *Ashada Maha*. This ripe mango juice is dried in the sun spread on winnows (*Kula*). The juice on drying takes the shape of a thick sheet. The children of Kondh take this with pleasure and the rest is exported to the plains. There is a peculiar preparation from the half-ripe mangoes. The skin is removed by means of a mother-of-pearl-shell bored in the middle with the edges of the hole very sharp. The mango is cut with a short pen knife into continuous slicing. The slices are not separated from one another and it stretched take the shape of a garland. This is sun dried and consumed as it is or made into curry. Most of this is exported to the plains. Mango stones are collected during and after the mango season and kept by the side of the house. During the lean months the stone is split and the kernel is washed. This is then rubbed into paste on a slab stone near the spring. The paste is dried up in the form of a thick cake. It is called '*Beezo*'. It is mixed in the gnel and consumed. The sago palm has a great food value for the Kondh during summer, when a sago palm bamboo tree is cut the Kondh collects the heart of it which is fibrous. The fibre is beaten into dust, served crudely and is used as food either as gruel or mixed with some millets. Green jackfruits are not a favourite food of the Kondh, because of the glue that comes out of the fruit when cut. More over it is a labourious process. The ripe jackfruits are eaten leaving the seeds aside. These seeds are eaten in the curry or are sold in the market. Dry Mahua flowers are preserved and cooked with millets or with rice if available. Tamarind seeds are fried and powdered and the powder is mixed with millets or rice and eaten as porridge.

Seeds of asparagus beans and all varieties of beans are fried and are eaten as snacks. Paddy, maize, jawar are fried and the Kondh adults and children relish these as snacks. The seeds of the jackfruit are baked in the embers and are eaten with relish.

Drinking habit :

The drinking habit of the Kondh needs perhaps a description. He drinks *Solpo* juice, Mahua arrack as well as rice arrack. Ganya and *Bhang* have not penetrated into the area although it is said that Britishers planted Ganja in Tikabali area about 40 years back. There are a few Date trees in the area which are also being tapped for toddy. The most common of the drinks is *solpo* juice. The *solpo* trees are planted by the Kondhs and in a few cases they grow wild from the seeds that are strewn on the ground while the trees are being cut. These *solpo* trees are planted in the foot hills and sometimes in the vicinity of a village. The *solpo* tree is just like a coconut or *Anacardium* tree. It grows to a diameter of 4' to 6' and to a height of 20' to 25' when mature. The branches are long like that of a coconut tree and are more like those of an *Anacardium* tree. The leaves are bigger and broader than those of the other two palms. The tree takes about 4 years to mature and to yield toddy.

As soon as the flowering takes place the tree is tapped in the same manner as a palm tree or a date tree is tapped. The liquor oozing out from the tree is held in small earthen pots in which a few paddy roots and '*Kodhan*' roots are placed. This is to secure quick fermentation and to neutralise the bad effects, of the juice. It is said that in the absence of these substances the drink is poisonous and causes dysentery. The pot of juice is brought down by means of a ladder of a very long bamboo, the shoots of which on either side serve as steps while climbing up or getting down.

If the tree is short and yields juice, agile youngmen climb the tree with hands feet, and fetch the pot tied to the waist.

This drink like any other intoxicating drink is never enjoyed if taken alone. A group squats on the ground near the tree and the drinking begins first by offering it to "addanjo", "Karmenjo" who are believed to be the first ancestors of the Kondh. The juice is taken out of the pot into the drinking gourd (loka) of a bigger size. There is the small loka in which few drops are taken out from the bigger one and dropped on the ground while uttering the names of the two ancestors. The gourd then is handed over to the oldest man or the Malick who first part takes of the juice. It is then handed over by him to a man next to him in rank or status. It passes from person to person in this manner. The gourd is about 9" to 1" long and has its bulb cut in a circle, and the narrow end is pierced through. The juice is taken out from the bigger gourd through this opening in the bulb and it is poured into the mouth by the thin end of the loka from a distance of 2" to 4". It is not sipped but is swallowed as it enters into the mouth. The juice is very similar to beer in effect but it is sweet in taste.

In the winter and early summer when the juice secretes profusely the Kondh drinks it five times in 24 hours. The first occasion is at the cock crow i. e. about 4.00 A.M., the second four is at sun-rise, the third at noon, the fourth in the evening, and the last at about 8.00 P.M. During winter and early summer the Kondhs covering themselves with their 'Motho' come to the tree to catch the first extraction of the juice. One of them carries a lighted fire brand to light them in the darkness and to keep off wild animals. On reaching the tree a fire is lighted and with this starts drinking the 'Kolo' 'Klapa', 'Kallu' which means the drink at cocks

crow. The middle-aged Kondh or the elder ones habituated to drink solpo juice collects a group of people of his like, who go in a body to the tree or trees and the group starts drinking. After the first drink they light 'Kahala' and engage themselves in gossiping. After three hours or so the second instalment of Kallu is brought down when the sun rises. This is known as a 'Vela Srahikaalu'. Again at noon a third instalment of the juice is taken and two more instalments at the times mentioned above.

In the case of older men given to drinking they do not stay at their respective homes but stay at the 'solpo' tree and during the rest of the night lie down round the fire that they light. If anyone feels hungry he takes a handful of the rice like substance which is secreted along with the juice, which further intoxicates him. This continuous intoxication keeps the Kondh out of hunger and he falls asleep. On being asked as to whether there are no dangers from wild animals the Kondh replies that if a Royal Bengal Tiger or a bear or a python approaches them they would throw a handful of the rice like extract from the solpo tree towards them and the animals on eating the same doze to sleep at a distance and would not harm them. It appears that in some instances the Kondhs keep on drinking and sleeping near the trees for days together forgetting their homes.

The Mahua snack is prepared by the local Sondi and he usually does it on a very large scale cut in the deep forest where there is a perennial spring flowing. He establishes his stall near the flowing water. He has his boiling pot which holds about 30 to 40 gallons of water. He has the "wash" and fermented rice and Mahua in several pots near by. He has a smaller pot and a retort of bamboo and mud which he fixes to the boiling pot. The smaller

receiving pot is placed on the stream to convert the vapour into distilled arrack. The mahua required is either from his own stock or purchased from the local Mahajan. In a few cases where arrack is prepared on an order from an official, ripe guava or ripe jackfruit pulps are boiled with the Mahua and distilled. This addition is said to give a very good flavour to the drink. The Sundhi is engaged in this work for a day or two but he returns home in the evening. The mahua arrack is said to be very strong. It is served liberally at all feasts. The intoxication caused by this drink lasts for over 24 hours if taken heavily. The Kondh is permitted to distil mahua arrack but he has to take a permit from the Inspector of Excise.

Education : (1937-40)

According to the rules in force the Special Assistant Agent to the Governor is the manager of all primary schools. He is the appointing authority of the teachers and the drawing and disbursing officer of their salaries. Needless to say that he is the general supervisor of the educational system in the area. On the technical sides there is a Deputy Inspector of Schools under the District Inspector of Schools, Ganjam. There is a Teachers' training school at Russelkonda (now Bhanjanagar) and the teachers appointed in the hills are recruited from the school.

The Dy. Tahasildar in the area is the direct subordinate of the Special Assistant Agent, and he has also some indirect responsibilities in the running of the schools. The schools are all housed in thatched buildings with dwarf walls around and with a mud plastered flooring. The maintenance of these buildings and the teachers' quarters rests with the Dy. Tahasildars who are given funds under "Civil agency works". Mainly maintenance of work is being done with these funds and paid for under the verry system. Teachers of the ele-

mentary and primary schools have to live in Kondh houses on rent basis or in the Teacher's room. There are few middle schools in the area and the rest are primary and elementary schools. Except in the middle schools there are no teachers quarters in the other categories of schools. The middle schools and even the lower schools have good vegetable gardens and the products of these gardens go to the teachers houses. The school children have to do manual labour in maintaining the gardens, because gardening is part of the curriculum. The Drumhead cabbages and the Cauli flowers and the *Knoikohi* grown in the schools are of a prize variety growing to a magnum size on account of the soil, the climate and the upkeep by the school children.

The teachers in these school are recruited from the Teachers Training schools at Russelkonda and at Berhampur. They are of the following castes.

- 1) Kondh Teachers.
- 2) Pano Teachers.
- 3) Convert Christian Teachers.
- 4) Gond Teachers.
- 5) Teachers from among the non-Tribal settler classes in the hills.
- 6) Teachers coming from the plains.

The Gond and Kondh Teachers are very few in number. They are residents of the area and when the school is at a place other than ones own village the teacher has to take residence either in the teacher's room in the school or in a Kondh's house. This is applicable to the Pano teacher, the convert Christian teacher and the teachers of the non-Tribal settler classes. The teachers coming from the plains take residence in the school office room.

The Gond and Kondh Teachers are sincere in their work and do not dabble in other

people's affairs. Similarly the teachers from the non-tribal settler classes do not dabble in local affairs. This class of teachers is not as sincere and honest as the Konkh and Gond Teachers. The Pano and convert christian teachers are of the tribal area and are more village touts than school masters. They remain absent from the schools for long periods and during such periods they take parties to Courts in connection with troubles fomented by their own ingenuity. They run errands for the missionaries, for the *Mahajanas* and the *mutaheads*. They also take a leading part in the village Panchayat. They are also of assistance to *mutaheads* during *mamool* collection and they attend on the officers visiting the area in course of their duties. In every possible way they try to make some money. The teachers from among the non-tribal settlers are of a different type generally. They would not venture out of village to look to other people's affairs. In their own way they discharge their duties not with intelligence but in a sort of mundane and routine manner.

The teachers from the plains are at present a veritable problem to the educational system in the area. They have their own affairs in the plains to attend and to look after their families living in the plains. Their going home frequently is therefore a necessity. They do not miss a short vacation even. They generally go without taking formal leave, leaving the school in charge of a co-worker. The Headmaster of the school connive at it. The School Dy. Inspector generally closes his eye to the unauthorised leave. This goes on by turns another teacher going home to the plains on the return of the teacher who had gone earlier. Thus by rotation they shuttle between their schools and homes.

The tribal who is not very anxious to send his children to school does not mind the

frequent absence of the teachers. Moreover if at all he complains he would complain to the Dy. Inspector of Schools who generally ignores such complaints. The net result of such complaints is that the children of the Konkh get harsh treatment from the teachers.

only the three "R's" (reading, writing and arithmetic) are being taught in the elementary schools and the special Assistant Agent during his tour visits these schools and examines the proficiency of the children in three "R's". He brings with him slates, pencils, class books and garments for the children, and distributes them ceremoniously.

The Konkh parents are not very anxious to send their children to school because a child is very useful for the family. The children, boy or girl, do baby sitting which relieves the mother to a great extent. This baby sitting starts practically from the 4th year of the child. As the child grows he or she is used in the house in the following domestic works.

- 1) Sweeping the house and the front yard.
- 2) Washing the utensils at the village spring.
- 3) Fetching water from the spring.
- 4) Boiling and washing clothes.
- 5) Collecting edible leaves etc.
- 6) Dehusking paddy if any in the house.
- 7) Collecting mangoes, mahua fruits & flowers etc.
- 8) Joining the mother in preparing leaf-platters and cups.
- 9) Carrying breakfast of father or brother to the *Bagoda* or field.
- 10) And above all taking care of a younger brother or sister.

The Konkh housewife is running the house single handed because her husband is out of doors either drinking *so/ro* juice or working in

the fields, and the work the children do is a great relief to her. The children do not continue in school till they complete education. After one or two year they are unable to stand the school discipline and discontinue on the least opportunity they get.

In spite of these adverse conditions attempts are being made by Government to popularise education in the tribal areas. The medium of teaching is oriya because 'Kondh' is only a spoken language. But while explaining the teachers use oriya words and expressions. Almost all the teachers know the Kuli language. The text books prescribed are approved by the Education Department and practically are the same as in the non-tribal areas. The IQ of the Kondh children being very low they find it difficult to follow the teaching. The Baptist Mission has an M. E. School at Gudupuri near G. Udayagiri, and it is one of the very few schools that is running on proper lines in the area.

In the primary and elementary schools in the interiors the teachers receive their daily rations from the villagers by turns. The children also assist the teacher in his kitchen and wash his clothes whenever necessary. All educational institutions are closed during the rains for about 2 months in the year because of the heavy rains.

There are two good teachers so far known in the area. One is Simhadri Panigrahi of Paralakhemundi who worked in the Paralakhemundi agency for a long time before being posted to Gutirigla. He is very popular, honest and sincere and is respected by Konds and non-Konds. The next teacher of outstanding merit is Sri Jaganath Nayak, a convert christian of G. Udayagiri town. The former knows Sora very well and has valuable manuscripts on the Sora written by himself. The latter is probably the first matriculate

among the tribals. The salary of the teachers is sent by the office of the S.S.A. by money order. Some of teachers work as Extra Department Post masters. The teacher does not take much interest in the work because the children are truants and the parents are not interested in educating their children. The teachers are always anxious to get transferred to schools nearer their homes.

Disputes :

The disputes are generally over landed property, over jackfruit or mango trees which are personal properties. There are also disputes regarding the ownership of *Solpo* (segg palm) trees. These disputes are taken to the village panchayat and the panchayat after hearing the sides and the witnesses gives its decision. If the Panchayat is not capable to decide or its decision is not acceptable to the parties the matter goes with the request of the parties to the higher or *Muna* Panchayat. If the parties so desire the matter is decided by a *Praman* (Sarada).

At the *Praman* the Panchayat and the elders are present and the challenger and the challenged seek the aid of supernatural phenomena of omens to give a decision in the dispute. If the parties do not abide by the decision of the Panchayat and if they do not seek redress by supernatural means the matter goes to a Court of Law.

The trial by ordeal which was in vogue till about 30 years back was the *Gropa Sarada* as it is called. The place of this ordeal was at Pusangia in Balliguda Taluk and the *Patro* of Pusangia who worships the '*Lava Pena*' of the Konds used to preside at this ceremony. People all over Balliguda Taluk used to come for this trial by ordeal to obtain a divine decree over the dispute. About 30 years back there was a Deputy Tahasildar at Balliguda by name Shri Apparao who prohibited this mode of trial.

There is even now a very big sail tree at Pusangia which is believed to be the abode of the deity 'Loha Penu'. The contesting parties would come to the Petro and affirm before him that they would go through the *Sarada* or *Praman*.

The complainant or challenger gets an egg and about half a seer of raw rice. These are offered to *Loha Penu*, the Konthi Janni or *Jhakar* who is the subordinate worshipper of *Loha Penu* fetches water from the stream nearby. A fire is lighted. He gets a small quantity of a black cow's dung and adds it to the water. The water boils, both parties standing close to the pot throw a few grains of raw rice into the boiling water calling upon '*Dharma Penu*' to witness the contest and to adjudicate. The truthful man's rice goes down into the boiling water while the rice thrown by the man with a false claim rises up. After this the man who denies the challenge would dip his forearm up to his elbow in the boiling water. The Challenger dips his hand in a similar manner. After this all the people there leave the place. The hands of the contestants are examined the next day by the petro in presence of the Panchayat. The innocent man's forearm is normal while the other man has blisters on it. This decides the issue and both parties accept the divine judgement as they believe it to be. '*Kaka-Jabaki*' is a Nala near G. Udayagiri Taluk where people go for a *Praman* (*Seeru Moonjar*). It is believed that underneath the stones live two huge lizards each 8' long with dazzling precious stones on their hoods. They are said to be having large fangs and protruding tongues and that whoever sees the creatures does not live for more than a week thereafter.

The contesting parties go with the village elders to the spots, offer a Puja of raw rice and cow's milk. The offerings are given to '*Dharma Penu*' (*Dharma*) to '*Sepandara*' and '*Vacandara*' (*Moon and Sun*) '*Jagajpunja*' and

'*Kukurpunja*' (Two groups of stars) as well as to other groups of such stars known as '*Asha Dadee*' and '*Madhgarade*'. After these offerings the local names of the high hills nearby are also uttered. The remains of the Puja offerings are given to the contesting parties. The *Pujari* who does the Puja cuts two trees either *Sal* or *Bamboo* and takes them to the water. In the water they are planted two cubits apart and are held by the two contestants. The *Pujari* stands between the two Septings.

The Panchayatdars then ask the contestants, "Are you bent on the *Praman*" ? The contestants then reply "yes". The *Pujari* then asks them to dive in the water. They go into the water and the *Pujari* pours some milk on their heads saying 'Let the innocent remain under water long and the guilty come up quick'. The popular belief is that the milk poured by the *Pujari* over the heads of the contestant finds a way, through the intervention of the deities into the nose and ears of the guilty who is forced by unseen powers to rise up after a short interval. The innocent remains so long after the guilty comes up that the *Pujari* has to lift him up practically. Thus the supernatural powers of the *Pujari* are believed to have invoked the assistance of Gods in deciding as to which of the contestants is in the wrong.

The village head or the *Mutha* head presides over such functions and he gives a written certificate that the successful is not guilty. He is paid Rs. 5 and this payment is known as *Sarada Puji* meaning pig for the *Praman*. The description of the money paid to the village or feudal head indicates that originally such heads were adibasis and were prizing a pig more than money.

The Panchayatdars who witness the trial are paid Rs. 5 and the amount is spent on drink at which Panchayatdars of both the

parties join. The fact that Panchayatdar of both the sides join at the time of *Praman* show that they carry no personal animosity and abide by the decision as one coming through Divine Agency.

Another method of invoking supernatural interventions is very old and is being discarded now. This was carrying in the hand a piece of earth and a small quantity of salt solemnly declaring that if "My contention is false my home and hearth would be lost". It was believed that by sticking to a wrong claim while repeating these words the Kondh would loose both his home and hearth.

Another *Praman* was carrying aloft a piece of royal Bengal tiger's tail. While uttering his claim the claimant would say that if his claims be false the royal Bengal tiger would kill him and eat him. It appears that in the past such a thing had happened on some occasions and the Kondh believes that if he makes a false claim he would suffer the same fate. This oath is administered in the Courts also some times.

The oldest type of *Praman* was carrying of a leper. It seems the challenged person would carry a leper saying loudly that if his contention is false he might be struck with this fell disease. This type of oath has become obsolete.

Language :

The *Kui* language is a vocal language. Attempts are being made by the Baptist and Catholic missionaries since more than half a century to give the Roman script to the language, but it has not proved successful.

It is a primitive language and does not permit a Grammatical structure. The language is spoken in *Ghumus*, *Sanokhed*, *Badaga* etc.

etc. in 'mal' areas and in *Phulbani* sub-division. It is the language of the Kondhs living in the Baud Kondh areas. It is also spoken in the Kondh concentrations along the foot hill regions of the Eastern ghats, abutting on the plains areas of *Ghumur* and *Berhampur* sub-divisions of *Ganjam* Districts. The language has a different dialect in the South *Ganjam* agency, in the South Western region of *Phulbani* District, in the South Western area of *Puri* District and in the Northern regions of *Koraput* District. This dialect is known as '*Kavri*'.

It is an undeveloped Dravidian language and has in many cases, roots of Tamil and Telugu Origin. The language has borrowed amply from Oriya also. The Oriya influence on the language dates back to about a century when the salt merchants of the plains visited the Kondh land carrying salt by pack bullocks. About the same time the Oriya chiftains came into the area as deputies of the neighbouring Oriya *Rajas* or on the invitation of the Kondhs. The original language underwent modification on account of this Oriya influence. But the fact remains that it has some roots in Tamil and Telugu. One is the environmental influence and the other parental. Some how the contact with these two Dravidian languages had declined very early and the acculturation in progress has made the Kondh to lean more towards Oriya. Even now about 5% of the Kondhs living in urban and semiurban areas can speak and understand Oriya. The *Paras* and Oriya settlers and the shopkeepers are almost all of them bilingual and do speak both Oriya and *Kui* fluently. In course of time as acculturation marches rapidly the *Kui* language would be confined to the remote interiors and the urban and semiurban areas will become entirely bilingual.

A Kondh who has had his education in the schools speaks Oriya. The subordinate Officials of all departments have to learn the language to enable them to perform their duties. The higher officials are assisted by their class IV subordinates who serve as interpreters and unless one is a linguist he does not bother to learn the language sincerely. Even the Kondh colloquial test held by Governments which carries a reward in its wake, does not encourage an official to learn the language.

The missionaries have a correct approach to the language problem. Their only work is to move among the people and this they can do only if they know the language. The scriptures are being written in *Kui* in the Oriya script and while conducting services they have to address the congregation in *Kui* alone. They are compelled, therefore, to learn the language before they are given independent charge of a parish.

To revert to the *Kui* language, some of its outstanding characteristics need mention. Words expressing high philosophical thought are absent in the language. There is no word corresponding to abstract ideas like divinity, Divine glory, sacred, holy etc.

In *Kui* language one does not find words corresponding to expressions denoting higher mental qualities such as wise, judicious, shrewd, intelligent etc. Words expressing physical qualities like strength, boldness, valour and courage etc. are also absent in the language. When the need arises to use such an expression, the language resorts to circumlocution, and this is naturally often strained, tortuous, and indirect. It is possible that the Oriya settler and the trader, from the plains when he would express himself by circumlocution, taught the Kondh to do likewise, instead of allowing the Kondh to borrow these

expressions from Oriya for the finer Physical and Philosophical thoughts.

There is yet another peculiarity in the language. Its vocabulary is not ample and a single word has numerous meanings. The word 'Eh' means intelligence, memory, wisdom reason etc. The context in which the word is used gives the intended meaning. There is another peculiarity in the language. Some nouns denoting the names of living beings do not have any inherent signs of Gender. A boy is called "Apo Meede" and a girl is called "Ase Meede". "Taddi" is added to the description of female animal such as *Taddi Pajji* to denote a female pig, *taddi Mio* to denote a she cat etc.

Many Oriya words have been adopted and most of them undergo a change in the pronunciation. The aspirate in Oriya 'Cha' is pronounced as 'Sa' Example :- Chaliba in Oriya is pronounced as 'Salba' Chokora as Sokora, Cheri as Sori etc. The aspirate 'H' used in the middle of a word is invariably followed by the Sound 'a' Example :- Rana, Bahe, Uha, Tuha, Vha etc.

In the language Telugu Oriya and Tamil influences can be seen from the following.

English	Kui	Tamil	Telugu	Oriya
Come	Va, Vamu	Va	Ra	
Sit	Kokamu	Ukkaro	Koocho	
Eat	Tin		Tinu	
House	Idu	Veedu	Illu	
Father	Aba	Appa	Abba	Bapa
Mother	Tadi	Talli	Talti	
	Talli			
Brother	Ambesa	Tambi	Tammudu	
Sister	Aengi	Akka	Akka	
Milk	Paedu	Pal	Palu	
Tree	Mrahan	Mano	Mraew	
Hand	Kajju	Kayi	Cheyi	

English	Kai	Tamil	Telugu	Oriya
Head	Tlaa	Thala	Tala	
Eye	Kanka	Kann	Kanna	
Leg	Kadu	Kal	Kalu	
To Walk	Salba			Chaliba
Sun, Time	Vela	Vel	Vela	Belo
Stand	Nilu	Nil	Nilapadu	
Fire	Nani	Nirupu	Nippu	Nian
Work	Kama			Kamo
Old	Pradera		Paatha	Puruna
Boy	Apo			Puo
Pair, Two	Joduka			Jodae
Long	Lamba			Lombo
To Jump	Dega			Dian

The words borrowed from Oriya and Sanskrit are environmental while those borrowed from Telugu and Tamil appear to be parental.

The names of almost all the metals have been adopted from Oriya, which may be explained by saying that the Oriyas taught the use of the metals to the Kondh or that the Kondh learnt the same during his depredations into the plains for plunder. The *Lohe Penu* the *Dharani Penu* the deities worshipped by the Kondh are the Iron God and Earth goddess respectively and they are derived from Sanskrit or Oriya.

In the numerals used by the Kondh the parental and environmental influence is also clear. In the numbers 1 and 2 the parental influence is seen while in the rest of the numerals the environmental influence is clear. It may be inferred that at a very early period in his history, the Kondh got separated from his parental influence. While examining the roots of the language one would see that in the case of family ties and in the physiology the parental influence is apparent.

English	Kai	Tamil	Telugu	Oriya
One	Rondi	Onnu	Okati	Eko
	Ro			
Two	Reendi	Rend	Rendu	
Three	Tini			Tini
Four	Sari			Chari
Five	Panso			Pancho
Six	So			Cho
Seven	Sato			Sato
Eight	Aato			Atho
Nine	No			No
Ten	Doso			Doso
Eleven	Egaro			Egaro

From 3 onwards to 10, the environmental influence is apparent. From 10 onwards upto 20 the Oriya form of counting is done and from 20 to 100 the counting is by twenties as one twenty two twenty so on. After 20 single digits are added and the counting proceeds so upto 100.

In the language as it is, a good many letters or sounds corresponding to Oriya sounds are absent. For example the sounds *Kha, Gha, Cha, Chha, Jha, Dha, Tha* are absent from Kondh vocabulary. Some sounds as *Ya* are present which is to be seen in the Dravidian languages of Telugu and Tamil. The sound *O* is not the direct *O* of Oriya but is pronounced as between *e* and *o* of Oriya.

Sareterial :

The Kondh uses a short dhoti about 7' x 3' with narrow borders. It is of the count of 11 to 20. It is woven by the local Pano weaver with mill yarn from the market. The Kondh does not use any clothing for the upper part of his body. When going out doors he ties a turban or a smaller piece of cloth round his head. The youngsters are using a locally made or imported banyans purchased from the

market. In the village and out in the fields, the Kondh uses this dress. When he goes to the market or to the town he puts on a half shirt or a cast off coat which he has purchased by barter from the pano. The more affluent Kondh when he goes to town dressed himself well with the same wearing apparel but of a better quality. On ceremonial occasions the Kondh puts on a silk turban round his head. In the more remote areas even today indoors or out-doors males wear one long napkin which is also wound round the waist.

To ward off cold he uses a sheet 7' x 3' joined to another piece of the same measurement in the middle. It is of *couni-l* and it is called the *marho*. This is used as a cotton blanket during the winter. Millmade bed-sheets being sold in the market now-a-days are replacing rapidly this covering cloth.

The traditional cloth is called *Gajini da* which is about 15' long and 1' broad with embroidery in coloured yarn at both the ends. This cloth is tied round and round the waist and over the genitals from front to back. This cloth was being used by the bridegroom when he would go in a procession to the bride's house. It used to be worn also when the Kondh would go to a battle field. This cloth has gone out of use and is now stored in the house as a souvenir.

The women wear saris about 7' long and 3' broad. The saris are locally woven and have attractive borders. The dyes are locally made by the weaver by indigenous herbs and roots. The process of manufacturing these dyes and the materials used are the secret of the Pano weavers. The saris are of the count 10" to 20" and are unbleached. Mill made saris are coming to the area rapidly and in course of time will replace the traditional saris. The

average Kondh women do not use a petticoat and a blouse. Sophistication is in rapid progress and the women folk when they go to the town or to the market have been using petticoats and blouses which are available at the cloth shops at G. Udegiri, Tikabali and Beliguda.

At home the average Kondh woman uses the customary clothing consisting of a napkin, a short cloth 4' x 2½' round her waist. She puts on a smaller piece of cloth diagonally across the upper part of the body so as to cover the breasts and a portion of the back. This clothing is used at home and out in the fields.

Boys and girls up to the age of about 4 years go naked. After the age of four years the girls wear a napkin till they approach maturity. The boys go about naked and of late they are using small pieces of cloth tied like a dhoti or use a half pant. The girls from about four year wear napkin and a small piece of cloth round the waist. The body is bare. They do not use an upper cloth till they approach maturity. A grown up girl uses a towel or a small piece of cloth to cover the upper portion of the body as described above. In many cases marriage does not make a difference in the clothing of the women but married women with purchasing capacity are using saris now a days. The Pano and the convert christian are marching with the times. They use mill made clothes both indoors and outdoors and use petty coats and blouses also. The males are well dressed outdoors.

Laundry :

The dirty clothes of the house are boiled in ash and caustic earth near the spring by the housewives and the girls of the house. Generally the clothes of a few families are washed at a time, each family boiling its

clothes separately. The clothes are boiled in earthen pots. They are beaten well on slabs of stone near the spring, dried in the sun and taken home in the evening. There is no caste like the washerman. Those who have come to the area from the plains for a living reside in the small towns.

Wooing & Marriage :

Marriage in the Kondh hills is more by mutual choice than parental interference. When the young men and women meet in the weekly market the wooing starts. There is exchange *Pao* and pleasanties. After a few such meetings formal proposals of marriage are put before the parents of the girl by the Pano of the village of the future groom. Thereafter regular negotiations start and if both sides agree the marriage is fixed.

Young men and women frequent mass festivals in the neighbourhood which are known as 'Jatra'. In these congregations mutual attraction separates a particular young-man and a girl from the groups in which they come to the festival. They move about in the festival hand in hand. Later they manage to meet in the forest or at the village spring. Ultimately when they decide to marry, the proposal is put up by the youngmen to his parents. The negotiations are started by the Pano of groom's village. He ascertains the wishes of the parents of the girl regarding the proposal. There after the groom's father accompanied by some elders of the village and the village Pano proceeds to the bride's house. They are well received and treated with drink. The negotiation is over the number of *gudi* (*gandi*) which the bridegroom's people should give. The '*gudi*' or brideprice are counted by 20s and consist of articles of daily use and finery. After a good deal of wrangling the parties come to an agreement over the number

of '*gudi*' that would go to the girls house and the date of marriage is fixed. If the marriage proposal is not favoured by the parents of the girl there is elopement and such cases are not very rare. The youngsters run away into the forest and stay there for a day or two. The parents of the girl relent and the father or brother of the girl invites them both to the house, and thereafter formal marriage negotiations start.

Marriage within a clan is taboo and one within the village is permitted if the parties belong to different clans. Love affairs between a tribal and a non-tribal are discouraged from the very start by the parents of the girl. Whenever a tribal girl elopes with a non-tribal the girl is disowned by her parents. There is no marriage in such a case but the girl lives in the lovers house as his wife.

Panchayats & Litigation :

Every village has a Panchayat. It is not an elected body but one that is in a way selected. The *mallick* or village head convenes the Panchayat at the request of the parties or on the complaint of a particular person. He is the president of the Panchayat, and the village *Padhans* are selected as members. The *digai* (Pano messenger) informs the members of the date and time of the Panchayat at the bidding of the village *Mallick*. This is held in the evening and extends late into the night. The venue is near the village '*bandi*' (Place of god) or at the *Mallick* if it is a rainy day. Occasionally the whole village is present at the spt. during the proceedings of the Panchayat.

Complaints of civil and criminal nature as well as instances of breach of communal harmony and social offences are heard and decided by the Panchayat. The complainant poses his case and names his witnesses. The witnesses are asked to say what they know of

the dispute. Then the accused or defendant denies the accusation and names his witnesses to be examined. There is no cross examination but there are frequent interruptions from either side while refuting the whole or part of a statement made by the principals or their witnesses.

After hearing both sides and the witnesses the Panchayat when necessary examines witnesses on its own to clear any doubt, arising in the proceedings. The Mallick and Padhwa confer on the spot and give their verdict. The complainant if his case is proved, gets his damages. At the conclusion of the Panchayat both parties pay a substantial amount towards the drink money of the Mallick, the members of the Panchayat and the digai.

If the parties or one of them refuses to abide by the decision of the Panchayat, the matter is referred to the higher Panchayat namely the Mutha Panchayat. In some cases the parties prefer to have the dispute decided by a Praman and the Praman is conducted in the manner already described. If all these methods of redress fail the complainant approaches the Court at the Taluk Headquarters. In all such cases where matters go to Court the village Pano or the school master of the village goes to a lawyer at Russelkonda or Aska or Berhampur. The Pano is the spokesman and hearing his version the lawyer agrees to appear in the case. It is fixed up and the lawyer attends the Court to file his complaint. He is paid heavily to cover his professional fees and his travelling allowances. He is very well looked after by the party during his case at the Court Headquarters. Litigation proceeds meanwhile the other party engages another lawyer in the same manner and gets him to the Court to fight out his case. During the adjournments of the case in the Court a

number of villagers accompany the parties to town. They are fed by the respective parties in the hotels.

After one or two hearings the parties feel the pinch of litigation and think of an amicable settlement. The Pano adviser would discourage the Kondh from backing out for very obvious reason and would call it a prestige issue.

This process continues and the Kondhs are put to heavy expenditure on account of the lawyers fees, the commission of the Pano, feeding charges of the witnesses and the villagers, the bribes at the Court and the exaggerated fees of the copyist etc.. A Kondh after spending his ready cash unearthes the gold and silver he has buried underground and thereafter if the litigation continues he approaches the Sowcar or Mahajan for a loan on compound interest. Ultimately by the time the litigation is finished both parties are run down to pauperism. The Sowcar or Mahajan gets an opportunity now to get the best paddy land of the Kondh because the Kondh is unable to pay the principal borrowed with double compound interest. The victorious party is not a great gainer if he wins his case because the miscellaneous expenditure incurred by him while fighting his case is more than what he has fought for and got.

Tiger Kills :

Tiger kills account for about 50% of the total unnatural deaths in the P.S. Records. The other 50% of the deaths are due to snake bite mauling by a bear, injuries or accidents. Common cases of tiger kills are described below :-

Very often it happens that a tiger is hiding in the scrub Jungle near the Turmeric field of the Kondh. While the Kondh is taking breakfast the tiger jumps at the child which its mother

had left sleeping in the shade of a tree. The tiger runs with the child. The Kondh gives chase with his axe and on coming up with the tiger, hacks at it with his axe. If the man is lucky the tiger is injured and runs away giving loud roars and the Kondh picks up the dead child and returns weeping. If the man is unlucky the tiger drops the child and attacks and kills him.

There are instances when the Kondh while moving in the forest in search of fuel or edible roots comes across a tiger squatting on the path. The Kondh climbs the nearest tree and stays there till the tiger goes away. If he is not quick enough he is caught and carried away by the tiger.

There are yet instances when the Kondh turning a curve in the path comes face with a tiger squatting on the ground. There is no tree nearby. He realises that he should kill the tiger or get killed. Before the tiger makes the fatal jump at him, he rushes head long and deals a blow on the head of the tiger with his axe. If he is lucky the animal falls dead at the spot. If not lucky and he only injures the tiger it pounces on him and carries him away half dead.

There are instances when females and girls returning from forest with fibre or *Sisal* leaves are way laid by a tiger, and before they realise it one of them is carried away. There are man-eating leopards also. These are very cunning creatures and go after a Kondh, so to say stalking him. At a convenient spot and from a convenient distance the leopard pounces on him and kills him.

When the Kondhs go for the early A. M. drink of Soljo juice the party is way laid on the route by a tiger. If the group is alert and catches the scent of the tiger the youngmen

shout and brandishing the fire brand they drive away the tiger. If not the tiger pounces on a man and runs with the man carried between his leg and chest into the forest. When the water source or spring is at a distance and there is a scrub jungle between it and the village, the owmen go in groups escorted by some youngmen. The path is narrow and there is scrub jungle on either side. The tiger snatches away one of the party before the men start to scare the animal away.

Weapons :

The bow is of strong bamboo and well seasoned by oil and fire. It is 4' to 5' long. During the seasoning it is slightly bent and some times stones of sufficient weight are tied to the ends to bend it so. At one end, the bow string is tied and the string is of thin split leather or a thin split bamboo. This string is mounted on a finely cut piece of bamboo and tied to the bow. The string also under goes seasoning. The other end of the bow is kept free with a loop of eri cocoon rope or a string of leather and when the bow is bent the loop of the string is pushed over the tapering end of the bow.

The arrow heads of the arrows are of various designs and are made by the Kondh black smith. The arrows shafts are made by the kondh himself. They are usually of cane or of thick reeds. The sides of the arrows are decked with close elipped feathers of birds. Poisoned arrows are not used.

The axe of the Kondh has a blade 3" to 5" long. The loop at the striking end is usually thick with some brass ornamentation embedded in the iron. It is made by the Kondh black smith. It is so tempered that the blade stands even cutting of hard wood. The handle is made by the Kondh from a specie of hard wood. It is seasoned by oil and fire. This axe is

carried poised on his right shoulder with the handle trailing behind. When going out doors to his field or forest the axe is the khondh's inseparable companion which is used as a weapon of offence as well as defence.

The spear is mostly used during the hunt. It is a piece of wood or bamboo 4' to 5' long and well seasoned. The spear head is made by the blacksmith. There are a few ancient spears of iron in the area which have, at the non-striking end, a ball of hollow iron probably to give it proper poise. The shaft is of solid iron.

There are match locks also in the area. They are used when the Khondh sits on a *maichen* waiting for a tiger which he expects over a kill. The match lock is locally made but the place of manufacture is kept a secret. The match lock is also used at the funeral of a well-to-do man in the village. It is fired into the air when the corpse is taken out to the cremation ground. The powder and shot are made by khondh himself. The match lock is so crude that it gives a strong and violent kick which tells the man. It is only the strong man that can fire the match lock.

Indebtedness :

Indebtedness of the Khondh is proverbial. He is not in want but he has nothing in plenty. Nature supplies all his needs which are very simple and meagre. In spite of these facts, a Khondh needs money to defray the marriage expenses of his daughter, the legal expenses if he goes to court and the expenses required while conducting religious ceremonies and propitiations which are not few. He spends the ready money if he has any. Then he spends the gold and money if he has any secretly buried underground. When all these resources are exhausted he approaches the *Mahajan* or the *Sowkar* for money. The interest he is to pay is exorbitant and in course of a

few years it is more than the principal he has borrowed. The loan is generally on usufructuary mortgage. He mortgages one or two fields but the produce of the land is not according to the calculation of the money lender, sufficient to cover even the interest. The balance due is carried over to the principal and this process goes on for sometime. The money lender suggests to the Khondh that instead of allowing the loan to multiply in this manner it is better to dispose of one or two fields of his. Thus one or two good fields of the Khondh go out of his possession. This is not a secret transaction but is done before the village elders. The Khondh is driven to penury and very often he does not recover from it. Most of the paddy lands belonging to non-advaitis in the area have gone to them in this manner. Government have enacted the "Agency Land Transfer Act.", but evasions are many and also the Khondh is not anxious to get back his lands because the *Sowkar* has helped him at the time when he needed money most. If the money was borrowed by his father and the *Sowkar* has taken some lands in lieu of the loan, he does not have the mind to go back on his deceased father's action. The Khondh sometimes scope out a field or two by hard labour to make up the loss of his ancestral fields. He concentrates on *Pedu* cultivation. If he is unable to scope out paddy land and if he fails to get a good return from the *dogeda* he becomes desperate and takes shelter of drink to forget his misery.

Clothing :

The scant clothing of the Khondh is not entirely due to poverty and want. It is due to the following reasons.

1. The ideas of modesty are primitive and garments of bigger and better dimensions are not felt a necessity.
2. The men, women and children spend almost the entire day outdoors and the nature of

work they do is such that bigger and better clothes would hamper their free movement.

3. In winter and on chilly days and nights the fire place in the living room keeps a Kondh warm.
4. There is no need for the Kondhs to go to the town and market frequently and the scant clothing they have is enough to cover their nakedness.
5. The average Kondh does not have the capacity to purchase more and better clothes. Even if one were to purchase, he has no place to keep them.

The Pano who is the weaver and the miscellaneous man of the locality does not do wholtime weaving. He does not therefore manufacture more clothes or better ones.

In this connection it may be mentioned that long ago cotton was being grown in the area. It was of the short staple variety. It was being ginned & carded by hand. These processes and spinning was done by the women folk. Spinning was done by means of a crudely made wooden spindle which was rotated on a piece of broken pottery. The yarn produced was usually of counts 10 to 20. The Pano weaver used to weave the cloth on his age old loom and brushes brought by him from the plains. At Present 'Dhoties' and 'saries' woven by him have borders and particularly the borders of the saris are of bright colours and of different designs. The Pano uses certain dyes prepared by him from indigenous herbs and roots. The Pano woman is very good at embroidery and the borders of the saris are sometimes embroidered. Better cotton cloths in large quantities are not being woven by the Panos because there is no demand for it. Now-a-days a Pano is using mill yarn and uses dyes which are available in the market. In 1939 looms of the improved type and improved brushes were introduced into the area.

Vetty Labour :

There is no labour class in the hills and all Government works are mainly done by the Revenue Department which organises labour by the age-old vetty system. According to this system portions of roads and of buildings are allotted to particular villages and the villagers divide housewise the work to be done. Minors and the disabled are exempted & the rest of the village have to do the work. Payment is made in lumpsum on rough calculation and this is shared among the villagers. Persons who evade this vetty labour are pulled out from their hiding places by Revenue Pools and are given good beating. Persons who dissuade the villagers from going to work on the vetty system are tortured. The work is supervised by an overseer who is known as Agency Overseer. By this labour the Revenue buildings which are of thatch, the school buildings, the medical officers quarter, the dispensary, the health inspectors quarters and the quarters of all Government servants of all Departments are maintained by the Revenue Department. Bamboo, thatch and the required fibre are also apportioned among the villagers and are supplied by them on nominal payment.

All the roads are earthen roads and the unfrequented ones are termed as bridle paths. All these roads are maintained by the vetty system. There were culverts and bridges of wooden posts and rough deckings. In 1939 the abutments of the bridges and culverts were made pucca with stone and lime and the deckings were made of sawn timber. The first metalled road in the Ganjam agency was the Udayagiri, Gulingla road and it was metalled in the year 1939. Great sections on the different roads were many and some of them were realigned or improved during the same year. There are Revenue rest sheds, one at every 8 and 9 miles and these are maintained by vetty labour. The payment for the labour is village

wise and the whole amount granted to a village is apportioned among the villagers by the *mallick* or *muthahead*.

The P. W. D. has a sub-division at Phulbani and a section at Baliguda and another at Kalinga. The work of the P. W. D. is confined to the main road from Bhanjanagar to Phulbani and from Bhanjanagar to Baliguda. The P. W. D. has its gangs of labourers. Contractors are also engaged by the P.W.D. to look after the bridges on the roads and the *pocca* buildings like the Magistrate's Office and quarters sub-jail, Circuit House etc.

The *vetty* labour is used otherwise also. *Dak* is carried by the *vetty* system whenever necessary. Every Officer touring in the area is given the required number of coolies to carry the luggage. The labourers are paid at *vetty* rates. At the residences of the Tahsildar and at the I.B.S. in the interior watchmen are provided under the *vetty* system which the *muthahead* arranges by rotation from among the villagers.

Muthaheads :

In G. Udayagiri Taluk there are two *muthaheads* namely of *Karada* and *Ranada*, who call themselves *Rajas*. They exact *mamuls* as the Patros of Baliguda. There are a few *Braohs* in Chokpad and near about Tikabali and there are many other non tribal heads at Paburia, Lingagada and Gullingia. They do not exact *mamuls* like the Patros of Baliguda. The rest of the *Muthaheads* in G. Udayagiri Taluk are tribals among whom there are one or two Gond *Muthaheads*. There in Baliguda Taluk the Patro or *Muthahead* is entitled to several *mamuls* because he has to maintain a retinue of sub-ordinates. He has *emple mamuls* recorded in his favour in the *Taluk* *memoirs*. Because of the status he maintain he has to exact *mamuls* and he is unscrupulous while exacting such. The *muthaheads* in G. Udaya-

giri Taluk do not have many *mamuls* and they do not exact *mamuls* as the *Muthaheads* of Baliguda Taluk.

Mamuls :

The origin of *mamuls* the nature of *mamuls*, the extent of *mamuls* and the method of collecting and exacting the same have been described in the report on "Agency *Mamul* enquiry" published by Government. The payment of *mamuls* is enforced in the courts. The *mamuls* are exorbitant and the tribals resent it. The late Thakkarbapa as Chairman of the Partially Excluded Areas Committee toured the area in 1938 to see the condition of the tribals.

Arrowroot :

Arrowroot or *Pafur* is not a cultivated crop in the hills. It grows in damp and shady places near the big trees like jackfruit mango etc. At the beginning of summer before the plants die a natural death the *Telchus* go in a group to the place and dig the tubers. Sometimes women also are in the groups. They dig the tubers which are washed in the stream near by. Then they are rubbed into a paste on the sheet rock in the vicinity. This paste is mixed in bowls of bell metal, and the mixture is allowed to stand so till the fine particles of arrowroot settle down as sediment. The sediment is taken out and left to dry on the sheet rocks. When dried completely it is scraped and taken to the village. It is mostly exported to the plains because the tribal does not relish it.

Eri :

Eri cocoons are not reared in the area. They are found in a wild condition in the forest areas of *Minapada* *Mutha* and in *Koodmutha*, where the Sal forest is dense and thick. The non-Kondh Harijara go into the forests in

groups they observe certain rites. They do not partake of non-vegetable food, onions, garlic etc., and do not tie their long hair so long they are in the forest. These cocoons are not boiled but exported as such to the plains. This find a market at Berhampur where they are boiled and processed for spinning.

Hides :

Cattle mortality is very heavy in the area as they are not fed in the house and fodder is out of the reach of the animals because of the wild animal menace. The cattle die early. The dead animals are skinned by the Pano. He treats the hides with salt which he purchases from the hide merchant and dries them in the sun. After this crude curing the hides are kept in heaps on the veranda for sometime. The hide merchant comes from Tikabali on convenient market days and purchases the hides so stored. These hides are exported to Russelkonda and Berhampur by bullock carts or by trucks to the Tanneries at these two place, where a second curing is done and, the hides are exported to Madras.

Hunting :

Hunting is not merely a past time of the Konds. It gets him food also. The hunting season begins with summer and ends with the rainy season. It is a community affair and all males in the village excluding the aged and children join. A hunt starts in the morning during the summer months and the hunters gather at the house of the village *mallick* after breakfast. Each one is armed with the bow and arrows, the axe or the Javelin. Some even have long *Athis*. These are the drummers with the *changu*, and some even carry bison horn bugles. Most of them have two or three sal leaf pipes tucked in the angle of the ear or in the turban. They are bare bodied except for a small *dhoti* and a turban on the head. One or

two persons carry a burning fire brand which serves as the match box of the party while lighting the leaf pipes. Every village has a number of stray dogs and individuals also have their own pet dogs. The party with dogs reach the house of the head man and proceed to the abode of the village goddess where some oblations of milk and raw rice are offered.

The dogs of the village run ahead sniffing the ground for the trails of animals. The hunters follow the dogs towards the forest. The dogs on getting near the quarry drive it towards the Nala or the deep ravine if any. If there is a tiger or a bear that is roped by the dogs, it is allowed to pass and chase is given to the smaller game. When the hunters close up, the animal is killed by the arrow javelin or by the axe. If the animal escapes it jumps into the Nala or runs into the ravine where it is easy to attack and kill it.

If no animal is tracked by the dogs the party sits down at the foot of a tree, it is decided to have a beat and the locality is fixed up. The hunters spread out in a semicircle near the selected spot. The more agile and strong take up positions at the ends or the semicircle and the rest post themselves in the base of the semicircle. Loud noises are made by the *changu*, the bugles and by shouting. The hunted animals are roused and while trying to escape are caught in the semicircle, and killed by the arrow, the Javelin or the Axe.

After bagging one or two animals, the beat is closed by about 3 pm. and the hunters return home with the dead animals. If the bag is good there is jubilation and there is singing and dancing during the home ward march. There is something like a thanks giving, ceremony at the village deity. The animal is skinned there and the venison is apportioned house wise. The disabled and lone widows are

given their shares although they have not joined the hunt. The village dog is given the skin of the animal along with his share of the meat.

Snares are used to catch birds which are good to eat. Wild fowl, Gurendi, Snipes, pheasants are snared and caught. There is a big trap, to entrap the gurendi. It is long and has a broad opening at an end. It is made of wattle woven together in the shape of a long funnel. After fixing the trap the Kondh hoots out like the male bird and in response to the call the female birds collect, proceed into the trap and are caught. The snaring and trapping are individual ventures and the community tinge is absent. Other birds are caught by the net spread on the ground with some bait strewn beneath it. Decoy birds are not used.

When a tiger or a leopard causes havoc in a locality by killing or maiming a large number of cattle or goats or by killing human beings also, the villagers join together and construct trap at the end of the village and close to the foot hills. There was one such trap in the village Poddangi near Guttingla and this was carefully maintained for over two years. This is a cage like contrivance constructed by the people. It is about 15' long and 8' broad. The sides of this cage are of Sal poles fixed close to each other without leaving much of an opening between them. The height of the poles is 12" to 14" overground. This enclosure is divided into two compartments one smaller than the other.

The partition between these compartment is made of poles fixed deep into the ground and a reinforcement of split bamboo is added to prevent a head long rush by the trapped animal. The bigger compartment has a trap door of the same material which is held aloft by a rope. There is an opening of about 4' from

the floor when the trap door is lifted up and held in position by a rope tied to the partition wall. This holding rope is so tied to the dividing partition that if an animal gropes along the partition wall to reach the bait the rope would snap and down would come the trap door and the animal is held a captive. The bait is a goat or a pig which is tied in the smaller compartment. After completing these arrangements by evening the villagers go for food and rest. Between 7 and 9 P.M. the killer arrives catching scent of the bait. It walks round and round the trap and goes through the trap door which is open and gropes along the partition wall to get at the bait. In this process the rope holding the trap door snaps and it comes down with a bang. The trapped animal whether the tiger or the leopard roars and whines while trying to escape from the trap by jumping over or breaking through the wall of the trap to the glee of the villagers all through the night. In the morning the villagers come and spear the animal to death, and that is the end of the nuisance in the area for sometime. The trap is not dismantled immediately but allowed to stand for one or two years to be used if the menace re-appears.

Dallihunt :

The *Dallihunt* as it is called was introduced into the area by the oriya mutha heads in the early part of the last century. *Dalli* is an oriya term (*Dai*) and means generally a curry of dal, or vegetables mixed with it. This method of hunting is a very weird one. After nightfall in the dark fortnight a group of youngmen get ready for the hunt. They have a screen of split bamboo about 5'x4' which is carried on the shoulders by two men by means of a bamboo pole tied across. It is about 3' from the ground. The screen is painted crudely in colours and the effigy painted is that of God or Goddess according to oriya concept. In the open space between the ground and the bottom of the

screen a blazing fire is kept up in a brazier carried by two persons. The persons carrying the screen wear jingling anklets which make a noise as the procession moves. Behind the brazier the hunters move armed with spears, *lathis* axe etc. The procession winds through the scrub jungle at the foot hills and proceeds to the jungle beyond. The sound made by the anklets, and the fire with the screen above attracts the wild animals towards it. As they approach the screen and gaze at the fire and effigy above it they are killed by the axe or *lathi* or javelin. The bagged animal if small is handed over to the men in the rear and the procession moves forward. This hunting is kept up for two or three hours. The animals killed are mostly hares, boar's and the deer also. The Oriya inhabitants generally take to this hunting with some Kondhs, following. The major share of the meat therefore goes to the Oriya.

Rathakhendi is a sub-member (*mutha*) of Keonjhar where sugar cane is grown. Towards the flowering a large number of birds of various colours and of the size of a lemon come to the sugar cane field. These birds are known as the *Baromasi Chodhai*. They are caught by sticks smeared with Gum acacia which are tied to the sugar cane plants. The birds get entangled in the Gum either by the legs or wings and are caught. They are put in small bamboo cages and sold in the market. The birds die within one year and hence are called *Baromasi Chodhai*.

Agriculture :

The paddy lands situated in the valley close to the village are formed by two highlands or two hillocks on either side of this land. It is raised with paddy either transplanted or broad cast. As in the plains seedlings are raised in a corner of the field and transplanted. The transplantation is not by the single seedling method which the tribal considers laborious and time taking. The valley being of a sloping nature,

side diains are provided to save the fields from the hill drainage which flows with velocity. Transplantation of paddy is a sort of communal activity where the women and girls of the village gather on the invitation of the owner of the land. They are given rice and curry by about noon. Similarly the harvesting of the paddy is done by the village men and women and they are also fed in the field. The valley is terraced into fields with a good deal of ingenuity and every field has a drainage channel which joins the main drainage channel. These are raised lands since minor irrigation has not been taken up in the area. After the first crop of paddy is harvested, greengram as well as blackgram are broadcast in the fields.

On either side of the valley there are uplands which are used for growing *Kauri* (a millet), horsegram, hillgram, blackgram, Ragi, redgram, jowar, sweet potato, rape etc. These are purely Rabi crops and are planted just at the close of the rains. Turmeric is grown further up close to the foothills and in some place ginger is grown near the paddy area where there is greater humidity in this soil. Both ginger and turmeric are commercial crops and the entire ginger grown is exported to the plains. A small fraction of the turmeric crop is used locally and the major portion exported to the plains through the weekly markets. Turmeric is boiled rubbed and seasoned by the '*Tohanilo*' or the Gond before its marketing. Turmeric needs a special soil. The soil is generally more loamy than sandy. If the black cotton soil is there mixed in it, it is very suitable for growing turmeric. The manuring of turmeric is peculiar. Small soil branches with very tender leaves are spread on the turmeric after it is planted in the soil. The leaves get sunbunt and get mixed up in the soil by the heavy rains in the month of June. The green leaves give some humidity to the turmeric that is

planted and then the rains convert the leaves into leaf manure.

In the space between the foothills and the village, fruit bearing trees are planted. The backyard cultivation is not very much favoured by the tribal because practically he has no back yard. Moreover he is well engaged in the *podu* cultivation and has no time for backyard cultivation. In his diet, kitchen garden vegetables do not find place and this is another reason why he does not grow vegetables in whatever space there is in his backyard. Only plants like Papaya plantain and sometimes cotton are grown in the backyard or on the land adjacent to it.

Weeding and hoeing of the crops grown on the up lands is done by the communal system of labour and as usual the villagers who join in these operations are fed by the owner of the land.

Podu Cultivation :

The *Podu* cultivation is on the hill tops or hill slopes. It is shifting cultivation and the site of the cultivation is changed every 3 or 4 years and the land or hill slope at the end of this period, is left fallow. *Sabai* grass and other varieties of grass and scrub jungle grow on this land and after a period of 3 to 4 years the shrubbery is cut, left to dry and then burnt. After enough of ash is collected on the land the tribal starts his *podu* cultivation once again. While burning the grass etc. the Kondh is careful to see that fruit bearing trees if any standing in the area are not damaged. The soil with the ash on it remains sunbaked for about a month. Before the seeds are planted some rough dressing of the land is done by the filling small depressions on the land. The sowing of the *podu* or *bagedo* begins just before the monsoon break up. The tribal knows in advance that the rains are coming and after offering rice and milk to the deity

or *Soru Para* he starts planting his *podu*. He uses a drill which is a piece of wood about 3' in length and 1" in diameter at the end of which there is an iron spike. Small holes are bored in rows with the help of this implement and the Kondh plants the seeds one or two in each hole. The spacing is customary and big boulders which are on the *podu* are circumvented.

The Jowar and other millets the runner vegetables are planted similarly allotting separate areas to the different varieties of plants. Small depressions near the big boulders are planted with gourds, pumpkins, plantains etc. Wherever the land is more even small patches of it are utilized to grow 'kaeri'. Within a week or 10 days from the date of sowing the first rains appear and the seeds sprout up. There is usually a short gap between the first showers and the regular rains. After the plants are about a month old the first weeding is done as usual with community help and the process is repeated after the plants are 1" to 18" high. The weeding is done very scrupulously and not even a blade of grass is to be seen near the plants after the second weeding. An instrument of the type of hoe known as '*Geddik*' is used. It is a hand instrument and can be easily wielded from a sitting posture. The plants thereafter are left to thrive by themselves. The Kondh trains the creepers on to a boulder or small shrub which he cuts and fixes on the ground near the runners. The local runner beans are trained on to small trees standing on the *podu*. The beans are plucked by hand as long they are within reach after which they are left to dry on the trees. When the beans are ripe the tree itself is cut bringing down the creeper with its fruits. There is a special species of bean which when green is consumed in the gruel, in its unripe condition. The ripe pumpkins are preserved for the lean months. The ash pumpkin is consumed in the kitchen in its

green stage and the ripe ones are sold in the market. Caster and Papsya are also planted on the podu. The jowar seed is used in the gruel and a portion of the crop is used fried and made into balls with boiling jaggery. The biligram which is grown on the podu is utilized as a principal item in the gruel in its green stage. When it dries up it is sold in the market. The horsegram and blackgram are sold in the local market. Ragi is locally consumed. Gourds of different varieties are grown on the podu land and it is boiled in the gruel and eaten. The non-edible variety of gourd is a multipurpose one. It is used as part of a musical instrument known as *Dhekka* and the smaller ones are used as spoons in the kitchen, the gourd is also used to preserve oil, salt etc. and the still smaller ones are used as drinking glasses to drink *solpa* juice. The large sized gourd is also used as a pitcher for fetching water. The gourd of the medium size is used for storing seed grains and vegetable seeds for the coming year.

Drainage of the rain water is a problem in the podu area because it rushes down with great velocity damaging the plants in its way. The Kondh with great ingenuity trains the rain drainage so that it does not interfere with his cultivation. There is a sort of terracing the hill slope in this process.

Mango :

Mango is a cultivated crop and the Kondh plants one or two mango trees. They are his own property. Where mango grows wild by castaway stones the trees are common property. There is another variety of mango which grows on hill tops and hill slopes. This is of a very small size the skin is very thin and the stone is a big one. The entire juice of this mango is only a few teaspoonful. This is a very late variety and the mangoes ripen during *Jyestha* or *Asadha* (June or July).

The mango is eaten ripe and a major portion of the crop is used in preparing dried mango juice in the shape of rolls. The liquid juice is well mixed by a bamboo churning rod and it is smeared layer after layer on a bamboo mat or on winnow. When a layer dries in the sun another layer is put on it. The dehydrated mango juice is partly consumed by the family but the major portion is sold in the plains. This is, in Oriya called *Ambeasoda*. The mango planks are used for door leaves, doorposts etc. The mango stone is heaped in a corner and allowed to dry after which it is used for food purposes. There are three peculiar varieties of mango- one at Lingapada. It grows to a magnanim size each weighing about one pound. There is another variety in the Rikola hills which grows to the size of an *Aesculus* which ripen in *Asadha*. There is another variety of mango which is dark red in colour when ripe. There is a tree of this variety on the hill saddle opposite to Doongi village. The seeds of better variety of mangoes are usually imported from the plains area. There is no graft mango tree in the area so far. The Kondh does not believe in grafting.

Jack Fruit :

The jack fruit also ripens late in the area and grown in clusters. The green jack fruit is rarely used for culinary purposes, because of the gum in which the fruit abounds and the difficulty of cutting the same into small pieces. Ripe jackfruit is eaten with pleasure by the Kondhs. It is rarely sold in markets. The seed of the jackfruit are preserved in the house and are cooked into a curry. The surplus of the seeds is sold in the local market on the barter system.

Mohua :

Mohua is a very important tree in the hills because of the drink which the Kondh prepared

from it. The flowers are dried and preserved for being cooked in the gruel. Oil is extracted from the Mohua seeds and this is the only oil available to the average Kondh for use as seasoner of curry. The mohua oil is used also for application to the head and body. The mohua planks are also used wherever necessary. Mohua trees are not planted and they grow in open dry fields or waste lands. When the flowering of the trees starts children of the village go to pick up the fallen flowers. These are partly used at home as food and the surplus is sold to the village Sundhi or in the local market.

Tamarind :

The next important tree of the area is the tamarind. Its branches are used as fuel whenever they are cut and its fruits when ripe are collected and sold by the Kondh after the hard skin is beaten. The seeds are removed from the tamarind and eaten as snacks. The fried seeds are made into powder by the crude chakki and this powder is mixed with the gruel of the family.

Silk Cotton :

The tree in next importance is the silk cotton (bero in Oriya). Its planks and bales are used for building purposes and its fruits are plucked and sold in the market for use in pillows etc.

Sal :

Sal is a very important tree and serves many purposes. It has timber and fuel value. The bark of this tree is cut at two or three places and from these cuts a gelatinous substance oozes out. When dry this juice solidifies and it is the "Jhuna" which is sold in the market. The smoke of the burning Jhuna is a disinfectant and keeps off insects etc. in the house. Sal leaves are used in the leaf plate known as

Khali. The leaves when green serve as wrappers for commodities sold by the Mahajan. The leaves are used as leaf cups also.

Siali :

Siali is a creeper which is in very common use in the Kondh land. The leaves are stitched into cups, dishes and receptacles with a capacity of an average basket in which seed paddy etc. are kept. The Pano who comes to the plains with turmeric or ginger for sale, carries his commodities in these big receptacles. The fibre of the siali creeper is useful for many purposes. It serves as a twined rope and for tying cattle and ploughs etc. The fibre is also used as newar in weaving the mats, which Kondh uses. The siali is a wild plant and it grows from its own seeds strewn in the area by the wind.

Triphala :

Triphala is a very important minor forest produce of the area. It consists of *Harida* (Myrsinolam), *Anala* (Phyllanthus) and *Bahada* (Terminalis). The first is used while tanning hides and for Ayurvedic medicinal purposes. The next is used mostly for Ayurvedic medicinal purposes and *Bahada* is also used for the above purpose. There is practically no use for these fruits in the hills and the entire produce collected is exported to the plains.

Senari :

The next important plant is *Rella* or *Senari* in Oriya. The bark of this tree is scraped out, dried in the sun and exported into the plains, where it is used in tanning hides.

Mats :

There is a type of mat prepared at Khomkhol about 20 miles north of Baliguda.

The grass used is of a larger size than that grown in Midnapur and the mats are therefore coarse and rough.

Broom :

The most export commodity is the broom stick. It is prepared from a grass growing in the hill slopes. The flowering

stalks of this weed are tied together by silai fibre in a very firm manner and it give a good grip to the hand. The broom sticks have a good market in and outside Orissa. This is an important cottage industry run by the women of the house. The Kondh used these brooms sticks but they are shorter in length so as to enable the women folk to sweep the room in the squatting position.

Primary Education of Tribal Children through Mother Tongue.

N. Pattnaik

A conference was held in 1956 under the auspices of the University of Calcutta, in the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University in cooperation with the UNESCO to discuss the nature of changes which were taking place in Traditional Cultures as a result of modern industrial developments. When Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay, Professor of Anthropology presented his paper on the theme of the conference Prof. Sunil Kumar Chatterjee, Emeritus Professor, Calcutta University wanted to know from him whether he had found among the Santals any desire to study their own language. The reply given by Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay is reproduced below.

"I have worked in three areas where I have had some opportunities of seeing that the tribals feel about their own language. These are the Santal and other tribal areas in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the Khasi areas in Assam and the Korku in Madhya Pradesh. Where Santali is the medium of instruction for Santals or Khasi for Khasis, full advantage is taken by them of such education through their mother tongue. Similar facilities were not available in many places though it was declared by the Government of India that primary education is to be imparted to the

children in their mother tongue; but unfortunately that was not followed. In Bengal where you will get many Santal students in primary schools I regret to state that the medium of instruction in Bengali and that is the reason why many are not able to go up for higher education. In Bengal the Santals are bilingual no doubt and they like Bengali literature but they also want education through the medium of their own language. In Malghat the medium is Hindi for the Korku children and there is similar trouble. In Koraput in Orissa, the medium is Oriya and except in Khasi hills the medium in Assam tribal areas is Assamese. The tribal folk resent such intrusion of languages".

In the speech delivered by Dr. Debiprasanna Pattnaik, ² Director, Institute of Indian Languages on the occasion of Silver Jubilee Celebration of Praransath College, Khurda he said that the child grasps through mother tongue its surrounding and develops its familiarity with it, comes to know by degrees intimately about people, animals, plants, fruit and flowers and other constituents of its native place. It is through the mother-tongue that the child learns to differentiate different thoughts and expressions arising from different situations. The mother-tongue is that language the loss of which results in severance with one's own, mythic past and cultural tradition.

But in the contemporary world the scholars argue as much in favour of mother-tongue as medium of instruction at the primary level as against it. While the University Grants Commission and the Governmental Language Commission have opined that the languages of advanced and well organised communities having rich literature and tradition and wide spread popularity should be adopted as the medium of instruction, many language specialists are against this opinion. They express the feeling that by adopting the advanced languages as the medium of instruction the scriptless languages of tribal communities will not only lose their cultural linkages and traditions but in the long run will also vanish and die out.

Learning through mother-tongue is itself a part of the process of child development where as the learning of other languages helps the child acquire that process of development. It is in this context that one's own mother-tongue and its second or foreign language is mutually interdependent and reinforcing in the sphere of its development. It is unanimously agreed upon by scholars of different schools of thought that mother-tongue occupies an important place in the development of mental faculty of the child. Therefore, learning of the second language should be based on the foundation of the mother-tongue. Following this generally agreed upon principles it has been the thinking of the linguists and educationists that instructions should be imparted to the children at the primary level through the mother-tongue using local scripts.

By way of explaining the reasons for considerable wastage and drop out and low level of literacy among the tribal people Dr. Sitakanta Mohapatra,² Commissioner, Harijan and Tribal welfare, Government of Orissa has

observed that the teachers are mostly outsiders and are not acquainted with the local cultural and social ethos and languages or dialects. The medium of instruction is the local State language while at home the child speaks his own tribal language.

Keeping in view these problems and many other problems which stand in the way of educational improvement among the tribal people the State Government has initiated a number of steps to tackle the situation. One of the steps is in respect of preparation of suitable primers with words from the tribal languages written in Oriya script. Based on several studies on the model primers to be used in the primary schools of the tribal areas a kind of graded primers for three major tribal regions of the State have been devised. The model is based upon creating primers using a vocabulary which is a mix of words taken from the tribal dialect of the local tribal region and Oriya in a graded manner.

In the lowest class a larger percentage of words in the local tribal language is used in the primer. These words are given in Oriya script because except Santali other tribal languages do not have script of their own. When the child reads or hears these words he has known or heard at home these words and therefore the process of learning of these words becomes easier and quicker. As a child goes higher up in the primary stage the percentage of words in the local tribal language gets reduced and that of the Oriya words in the total vocabulary used in the primer gradually increases until in the higher grades all the words used in the vocabulary of the text book are in Oriya language and nothing in tribal language. By this process a tribal child does not find any difficulty in learning at the lowest level of education. As he grows up and goes higher up in educational standard he

learns more and more of Oriya language which would help him in prosecuting higher studies. The State has three major tribal language areas and three different sets of primers for this purpose have been prepared and tried out in a limited scale. From the next academic year they will be put into universal use.

The conclusion which one can draw from the foregoing paragraphs is that the tribal children will have greater interest in schooling if the lessons are taught through the medium of their mother-tongue. In other words, if the medium of instruction in Oriya in some places where the tribal children have sufficient proficiency in Oriya language they may have also similar interest in education. In order to find out the reality in this matter a survey was undertaken in different tribal areas and the data regarding the degree of proficiency in Oriya language ranging from understand and speak to don't understand among the tribal children of age-groups of 0-11 years and 11-16 years and whether they were going to school or not were gathered. These data were analysed by cross-tabulating the proficiency in Oriya language with going/not going to school. The data pertinent to this issue were gathered from all households of the area under the Orissa's tribal sub-plan in the Universal Bench Mark Survey. For the sake of illustration the areas covered under Koraput, Sundergarh and Mayurbhanj ITDAs only are mentioned in this paper. The data pertaining to Koraput ITDA are presented in Table 1, to Mayurbhanj ITDA in Table 2, and to Sundergarh ITDA in Table 3. The general observations of these tables are given below :

Koraput ITDA :

1. Irrespective of age-groups and proficiency in local Oriya language the percentage of children not going to school is very much larger than of those going to school. In other words, greater proficiency in local Oriya language makes no difference in the extent of going to school. This is true of children of both the age groups in all the 13 blocks of the Koraput ITDA.

2. However, when compared between those school going children having knowledge to the extent of understanding and speaking in Oriya language and those not having any such knowledge the percentage of the former group of children is greater than that of the latter group in eight blocks out of 13 blocks in the case of 0-11 year age-group and in nine out of the same number of blocks in the case of 11-16 year age-group. In most cases the difference is spectacular, but there are a few cases where the difference is marginal. A comparison between the two groups of school going children both having some proficiency in local Oriya language but differing in age-groups, one belonging to the lower age-group of 0-11 years and the other to the higher age group of 11-16 years shows that the percentage of the former category of children (school going, speak and understand Oriya language and 0-11 year age-group) is perceptibly greater than of that latter category of children (school going, speak and understand Oriya language and 11-16 year age-group) in all blocks except in one in which the figure is zero in both the age-groups.

Mayurbhanj ITDA

1. The situation which was observed in Koraput district in respect of the higher proportion of children not going to school is also the same in the case of Mayurbhanj district. The percentage of children of both the age-groups and irrespective of their proficiency or otherwise in local Oriya language is greater than that of those going to school in all the 17 blocks. As indicated above it may be stressed that the factor of proficiency in understanding and speaking Oriya language does not show any difference from the factor of the lack of knowledge in the language in the matter of going to school.

2. The comparison between the proportion of the school going children having ability to speak and understand Oriya language and that of their counterparts not having any knowledge in Oriya language shows that in 13 out of 17 blocks the proportion of the former category of children is greater in the age-group of 0-11 years. The corresponding figure for the higher age-group of 11-16 years is 15, that is in 15 out of 17 blocks the proportion of the school going children having proficiency in Oriya language is greater than their counterparts having no knowledge in this knowledge.

3. In seven out of 17 blocks the percentage of school going children of lower age-group of 0-11 years having ability to speak and

understand Oriya language is greater than their counterparts belonging to higher age-group of 11-16 years. In other words, the proportion of school going children of higher age group of 11-16 years having proficiency in Oriya language is greater in 10 out of 17 blocks. This is a situation not found in Koraput district.

Sundergarh ITDA :

1. As in the case of Koraput and Mayurbhanj the same picture of very low proportion of children going to school irrespective of age-groups and of ability or otherwise in local Oriya language is noticed in Sundergarh ITDA.

2. The proportion of school going children having proficiency of speaking and understanding Oriya language is greater than that of non school going children not knowing Oriya language in five out of six blocks in the lower age-group of 0-11 years. But in the higher age-group of 11-16 years the proportion of school going children who are proficient in Oriya language is greater than that of non school going children knowing Oriya language in all the six blocks of Sundergarh ITDA.

3. Except two blocks where the proportion of school going children of lower age group of 0-11 years having proficiency in Oriya language is greater than that of their counterparts of higher age-group of 11-16 years in the remaining four blocks the reverse is true.

DISTRICT - SUNDARGARH

Sch. Tribe

Code No.	Name of the Block.	Number of children in the Age group 0-11 who have following ability in the local language.						Number of children in the Age group 11-16 who have following ability in the local language.					
		Speak and understand	School going	Not school going	Understand	Not understand	Speak and understand	Speak and understand	School going	Not school going	Understand	Not understand	Speak and understand
		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
156.	Subdaga	2822	7078	80	344	6	19	1151	2743	37	135	0	4
		(28.51)	(71.49)	(14.85)	(85.15)	(24.00)	(76.00)	(29.56)	(70.44)	(21.61)	(78.49)		(100)
152.	Rajjagpur	3596	70209	406	1472	185	706	1381	3107	175	415	56	189
		(26.05)	(73.95)	(21.62)	(78.38)	(20.78)	(79.24)	(30.77)	(69.23)	(27.34)	(72.66)	(22.86)	(77.14)
106.	Gurundia	2139	6646	479	2350	43	209	488	2196	135	639	9	49
		(24.35)	(75.65)	(16.93)	(83.07)	(13.70)	(86.30)	(17.56)	(82.44)	(17.44)	(82.56)	(15.82)	(84.18)
102.	Lathikate	3381	7782	1175	3040	403	1404	1239	2200	306	1075	114	357
		(30.29)	(69.71)	(27.62)	(72.38)	(22.30)	(77.70)	(36.03)	(63.97)	(23.16)	(76.84)	(22.51)	(77.49)
161.	Bisra	1679	2624	527	1644	219	722	553	1035	798	711	56	395
		(37.29)	(62.71)	(24.26)	(75.74)	(23.23)	(76.77)	(34.62)	(65.38)	(21.79)	(78.21)	(12.80)	(87.20)

Inter ITDA comparison of some points particularly those in respect of the percentage of school going children of both the age - groups having proficiency in Oriya language shows that Sundargarh ITDA leads Mayurbhanja ITDA which in turn leads Koraput in this regard. The figures are presented in the statement-1

Statement — 1

(Inter ITDA comparison of proportion of school going children having proficiency in Oriya language.)

	Percentage rang in Age-group 0-11 years	Percentage range in Age-group 11-16 years.
Koraput	10.79-14.03	3.91-17.82
Mayurbhanj	13.35-30.89	10.73-35.71
Sundargarh	24.55-37.19	17.65-36.03

Another comparison in respect of the percentage of school going children of both the age-groups not understanding Oriya language shows that Sundargarh leads Koraput which in turn leads Mayurbhanj in the case of the lower age-group of 0-11 years. But in the case of the higher age-group of 11-16 years Mayurbhanj leads the other two districts. The inter ITDA comparative figures are presented in the Statement-2.

Statement — 2

(Inter ITDA Comparison of proportion of school going children not understanding Oriya language.)

	Percentage rang in Age-group 0-11 years	Percentage range in Age-group 11-16 years
Koraput	4.70-25.37	0.91-16.67
Mayurbhanj	0.00-35.00	2.46-50.00
Sundargarh	13.78-24.23	0.00-23.35

The data collected in the Universal Bench Mark Survey show that irrespective of age groups and knowledge in local Oriya language the proportion of school going children is much less than that of the non-school going children in all the three ITDAs. Except in one case where the percentage of school going children has gone upto 50 percent, in other cases it varies between 0 and 37.29 percent.

A look at the two statement given above shows some marked differences. The statement-1 which records percentage rang of the school going children of both these groups having proficiency in Oriya language shows a better picture than what is found in the statement-2 which gives percentage range of the school going children of both the age-groups having no knowledge in local Oriya language. Whether or not the factor of proficiency in Oriya language has caused this difference it is difficult to say.

Another point which comes out from these statements is that the proportion of school going children belonging to younger age-group of 0-11 years is greater in all districts than the proportion of their counterparts of older age-groups of 11-16 years irrespective of knowledge in Oriya language. The percentage

of 2.45-5.00 which refers to school going children of older-group having no knowledge in Oriya language in the case of Mayurbhanj district appears to be an exception and it is difficult to say why it is so in this case. Other wise as the data indicate one is inclined to think that the interest and eagerness of the Oriya knowing tribal children of younger age-group for going to school may be greater than that of their counterparts belonging to higher age-group and having no knowledge in Oriya language. Further studies may bring out additional information regarding this problem.

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Approaches to Backward District Planning : Case Study of Boudh-Khondhmals District in Orissa

J. K. Routray

Introduction :

The history of backward area planning is as old as the India economic planning itself. However, the real emphasis was given in the Third Five Year Plan document. The Pandey and Wanchao Committee Working Groups are noted for the identification and formulation of policy guidelines for the backward district development. The concept and pattern of development programmes have taken different shapes in different times and at different places. In spite of the best possible objectives and techniques, there is a wide gap between the assessment and achievement in the developmental activities. The different approaches experimented at different places did not assure much yield for want of proper diagnosis and understanding of the concerned regions, constituent elements and other attendant problems. It is very difficult to find out the real crux of the problem. The desired success of our planning process has not been materialised due to the multitudinal faulty actions in the areas of Politics, Planning, Administration and Implementation. Therefore, an attempt is made in this paper for a system-

atic and rational approach with particular reference to Boudh-Khondhmals district of Orissa.

Selection of Study Area :

The district has been identified as the most backward district in the state of Orissa by many regional scientists. It has been identified on the basis of the index of agricultural development, index of secondary sector activities including mining, index of tertiary sector activities including infrastructure and index of socio-cultural activities. The district is not only backward from the total perspective of economic development, it is also in each and every sectors of economy. The pattern of development remained exactly same during 1961 and 1971. In both the time periods the district has occupied the lowest position in the ladder of economic development as well as in sectoral development among thirteen districts of the state. The situation is almost identical in the year 1981.

Geographical Setting :

The whole district is an undulating plateau except having a narrow valley plain along the

This paper is extracted from the author's planning dissertation "Development Planning of a Backward District : Case Study of Boudh-Khondhmals District, Orissa".

Tel and Mahandi river system in the North. About 60 per cent of the total population constitute scheduled tribes and scheduled castes taken together, out of which 40 percent of the total population belong to the scheduled tribes. As far as the resource endowment is concerned, the district is potentially rich in forest resources which are yet to be organised and properly managed for a meaningful exploitation and utilization. The forest area covers about 80% of the total geographical area and it is the primary source of income for large section of tribal population. The insignificant occurrence of clay and graphite do not give scope for economic exploitation and as a matter of fact there is no scope for industrial development taking mineral resources as base. The district is comprised of fifteen community development blocks with an area of 11070 sq. Kms. and a population of 621675 in 1971 and 721772 in 1981.

Identification of major Problems :

The constraints which retard the process of development can be identified in the following major corridors.

- a. The district is frequently prone to drought because of erratic and ultimately rainfall distribution pattern accompanied with poor water management, reflected in poor agriculture development, the basic and key factor in the process of the economic development of this district.
- b. Practice of shifting cultivation in hilly and forest areas by tribal communities causing large-scale deforestation, which is followed by soil erosion, decreasing trend of soil fertility and innumerable sets of related severe problems.

- c. High concentration of backward class population along with high concentration of tribal population poses serious problem in the field of planning and development.
- d. Because of hilly and forest track, poor transport linkage hinders proper accessibility among the large number of scattered settlements, which remain isolated from the existing development pattern.

Levels of Economic Development vis-a-vis Development Potential :

Here an attempt is made to assess the present pattern of development with respect to the available development potential factors by blocks. The over all development of any spatial unit is a function of its existing development potential along with some deliberate and forceful development policy issues. The development potential is the combined display of demographic, resource and infrastructure potential; in which the role of resource potential is important cme. The resource potential can be specified as mineral resource, forest resource, soil resource measured in terms of fertility status and water resources (both surface and ground water).

Keeping these views in background, the total picture of economic development and development potential were obtained by selecting few indicators for both the purposes and preparing composite index by first Principal Component Analysis. (Indicators, Annexure I). The pattern of economic development vis-a-vis the development potential by blocks can be compared from the following statement.

Order of Development	Levels of Economic Development	Levels of Development Potential
1st order (High)	G. Udayagiri, Boudh, Phulbani	Chakapad, Boudh
2nd order (Medium)	Kantamal, Chakapad, Nuagaon	G. Udayagiri, Nuagaon, Phulbani, Kantamal
3rd order (Low)	Tikabali, Tumudibandh, Daringibadi, Harabhanga, Khajuripada, Raikia	Tikabali, Khajuripada, Raikia, Baliguda, Harabhanga, Tumudibandh
4th order (very low)	Baliguda, Kotagarih, Phiringia	Daringibadi, Kotagarih, Phiringia

From the analysis it is revealed that the present pattern of economic development is more or less concomitant with the existing pattern of development potential, partly created or to be created by blocks. The blocks like Chakapad and Baliguda are not developed upto the expectation level as depicted in the development potential ladder. G. Udayagiri, Phulbani, Daringibadi blocks have been developed beyond their scopes of development potential. Most of the tribal blocks remained backward irrespective of development potential factors as they were not properly availed in those areas and secondly, the exploited tribals were deprived of availing the facilities because of institutional bottlenecks, political and social factors. In contrast to this, G. Udayagiri being a tribal block has developed beyond the expectation limit, is mostly due to the Christian missionary activities. The Boudh block has availed properly all the available potential factors, for which it stands

out prominently in the levels of economic development. The most peculiarity is observed with Kantamal and Harabhanga blocks. In spite of favourable physical location and having uniform fertile soil track, these two blocks have not been developed much as it was generally expected.

The analysis of this type is just not to isolate these blocks from the main stream of development and planning process, it is rather to strengthen further with new structure and infrastructure. Simultaneously due emphasis will be given for the development of the undeveloped tribal blocks in an integrated manner.

Pattern of Development among the Scheduled Tribes with respect to Non-tribes :

The level of economic development of any region does not necessarily reflect the level of development attained by all sections of People of the concerned region. Generally the parameters chosen for the measurement of economic development is mainly from different sectors of economy and alongwith availability of infrastructural and community facilities. As a result, the composite picture reflects the relative development of spatial units rather than true development of the population concerned in each of the units. The district like Boudh-Khondhmal, which is dominated by a large section of backward class population and there are a large number of tribal groups among the tribes, it is very much important to assess the present pattern of development among the tribes with respect to non-tribals before formulating any policy and strategy for the tribal community as a whole.

The relative development is judged here on the basis of the Education, Urbanization

* Non-tribal blocks

and participation in different Economic Activities. The relative position of different tribal groups, all tribes taken together and non-tribals are represented in the following table :

Development Classes	Name of the tribes
(Low)	Kol, Mirdhas, Matya, Kotia, Saora, Khond, Shabar, Gond, other minor tribes, unspecified tribes.
(Medium)	Khair, Khandha - Gauda, Munda, Non-tribes
(High)	N I L
(very High)	Kuli, Bhuiya

Major tribal groups attained low development which altogether constitute 98.61 per cent of the total tribal population. The major tribe, Khond which shares 88.11 per cent of tribal population alone, attained significantly low development with respect to other tribal groups. Medium and high developed tribal groups, though they represent very low percentage (1.38) of the total tribal population, is highly indicative that these tribal groups (Kuli, Bhuiya) are more developed than non-tribals. All tribes taken together present a very poor picture in comparison to Gond, Khair, Khandha-Gauda, Munda, Kuli, Bhuiya and above all with respect to non-tribals.

Fixation of Priority Areas and Prospects of Development :

Looking towards the major problems and pattern of economic development vis-a-vis development potential; the priority areas of planning have been fixed up on the following order :

- i) Due emphasis should be given to backward tribal blocks (Pirangla,

Kotagarh, Baliguda, Raikia, Khajuria-pada, Daringibadi, Tumadibandh and Tikabali) along with Harabherga block and by this simultaneously strengthening developed blocks.

- ii) Special care will be taken for tribal and backward class community, with special attention on backward tribal groups (Kol, Mirdhas, Matya, Kotia, Saora, Khond, Shabar, Gond and other minor tribes) for economic and social development.

As far as the prospects of development is concerned, the priority areas of economic development content are :

- a) Agricultural development plan along with irrigation and watershed management programme;
- b) Planning for Dairy and Animal Husbandry;
- c) Planning for forest resource development;
- d) Though there is a limited scope for industrialization, the importance will be given to agro-based, dairy and forest-based industries with household industries.

Lastly in order to carry out successful development of the district, the infrastructure and service facilities will be taken into consideration by a set of well co-ordinated rural service centres along with economic development plan.

Important Observations :

The success of planning and development can be measured from the efficient utilization of available labour force in productive purposes

and finally providing them meaningful employment opportunity. Primary sector is the most important one for the development of this district, so it has been tried to estimate the under-employment figure to assess the success of the development plans during the planning periods.

As it is observed from the present situation (1976-77) 26% of primary sector labour force remain under-employed. By the end of 1981, the under-employment will be reduced to 9.03%, if due emphasis is made for the sectors, discussed in priority areas of action. It will be reduced further to 3.24% by 1991. By this time, the agriculture sector will reach at saturation point both in terms of availability of agricultural land as well as irrigation facilities. As a matter of fact this under-employment will again take a rising trend and it will be 24.23 per cent by 2001. A.D. If the uneconomic forest land is added to agricultural practices, it will generate employment for a large number of labourforce, the percentage of under-employment will be reduced to 9.50 as against 24.23 per cent. So in the second phase of planning (1991-2001), the emphasis must be given to non-agricultural sectors for effective employment. At this stage comprehensive skill development plan is essential. **Present Pattern of Development Programmes, its impact and achievement :**

In addition to general development programmes by different government departments, there are some special Development Agencies operating in this district. The Agencies are : Drought Prone Area Programme Agency (DPAPA), Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA), Tribal Development Agency (TDA), Kutia-Khondt Development Agency (KKDA) and recently introduced Integrated Rural Development Agency (IRDPA). There is very little variation in the aim, objectives and contents of all these programmes. The operational methods are exactly same for all programmes.

Whatever may be the development projects, their impacts and achievements are not studied and also not evaluated so far. However, the achievement in irrigation sector is remarkable. After completion of all the medium, minor irrigation projects, the irrigation potential is to be increased to 28.61% by 1981 and 43.14 percent by 1991 as against today only 13.28 per cent. The major problems associated with these development agencies are :

- i) The investment has been made without assessing the demand and need of the people, area and sectors of economy;
- ii) Secondly, the potential study of different sectors of economy is not done;
- iii) There is no such priority programme, as where to invest and also in which sector. As a matter of fact the total available funds are distributed among the Government Departments unlike that of departmental programmes without keeping any relation to need and demand;
- iv) At present there is no such planning machinery to prepare development plans either for the district or for the blocks.

Present Practice of Plan Preparation and Implementation :

District Development Officer is the authority to fix up different development programmes with the consultation of other Government Departments (Agriculture, Industry, Animal Husbandry, Forest, Soil Conservation, Health etc.) at district level under the direct supervision of District collector. In addition to this all the sectoral development programmes are prepared in respective departments separately without proper co-ordination and integration between the departments. The present way of preparation and implementation of development plans are not suited for integrated balanced develop-

ment. The aim of the District Industrial Centre is not only for promotion and control of industries, rather to create development potential for future industries and it cannot be possible without integrating other sectoral activities.

To overcome all these problems, there is a vital need for the establishment of District Planning Cell consisting of trained planners from different disciplines (Geography, Economics, Statistics, Sociology, Anthropology, Engineering, Industrial Management, Agriculture and Veterinary Science). An organisation of this kind will certainly create scope for the preparation of a development plan giving accommodation to all such developmental programmes presently carried out by different development agencies and departments in isolation, to promote balanced economic development among the blocks, among all sections of population, keeping harmonic relationship with various sectors of economy. The District Planning Cell will not only prepare plans, but also be given responsibility to implement in the field. Thus the gap between the theory and practice can be easily bridged up for effective implementation.

Conclusions :

In addition to multipurpose, multi-sector, multi-level and multi-section planning approaches, due emphasis was given to special area and integrated planning approaches, particularly during the last decade. The integrated planning approach was mainly revolved round the growth centre technique. Unfortunately, the concept has been widely used for service purposes rather than industrial development in backward areas. The location of some populative steel industries in backward areas of the country, such as Raipeta, Bilai, Durgapur and Jamshedpur could not do any justice to the backward area development. On the other hand these industrial centres strengthened significantly the national economy. There is nothing wrong with the different concepts and approaches of planning. But these approaches cannot be viewed in isolation, proper weightage

must be given to Sociological phenomena. Hence, a discussion on sociological approach is in order here.

While preparing development plans for backward areas, the planners must take into account the conflicting situation which usually arises due to caste as well as economic and religious class system and a variety of other causes. Because this occurs due to the wide variation of aspirations from an individual to a group and from a society to another society. These conflict and aspiration factors are never foreseen in the preparation of development plans. So the conflict and aspiration must be resolved in harmony and finally it is to be transferred to a viable credibility model for effective implementation in the field.

Apart from this, the Tribal Planning constitutes a major section of Backward Area Planning, as far as this district is concerned. The approaches for tribal planning are very much similar to those of other economic planning in other areas, but the guiding policies are quite different. As far as the policies of tribal development are concerned the policy of revitalization has got certain advantages over others, such as the policy of isolation, the policy of intervention and the policy of Assimilation of cultures. Policy of Revitalization is very much scientific and pertinent to revitalise the existing elements of socio-economic and cultural milieu, in each of the tribal societies to provide more stability instead of isolating them from the main stream of National Development Programmes. Therefore, it is futile either to force them to assimilate the non-tribal cultures or to intervene in the process of spontaneous development of tribal societies.

From the above, it is concluded that the systematic approach may be accepted in the light of Boudh-Khondhals district experience and it may be further applied to other backward districts of Orissa for a more meaningful developmental planning.

A. Selected Indicators for Economic Development by Blocks :

1. Intensity of cropping, 2. Percentage of irrigated land to net area sown, 3. Area under high yielding variety as percentage to net area sown, 4. Consumption of chemical fertilizers per hectare of net area sown, 5. Sectoral concentration of secondary labour force, 6. Sectoral concentration of tertiary labour force, 7. Percentage of female labour force in tertiary activities, 8. Sectoral concentration of labour force in trade and commerce, 9. Sectoral concentration of labour force in transport and communication, 10. Population density, 11. Literacy, 12. Road density (all types) per 100 Sq. Kms. of area, 13. Percentage of villages electrified, 14. Primary and Middle Schools per 100 Sq. Kms. of area, 15. Primary and Middle Schools per 100 population, 16. Secondary Schools per 100 Sq. Kms. of area, 17. Secondary Schools per 10,000 population, 18. Number of hospital beds per 1000 population, 19. Number of hospital and dispensaries per 100 Sq. Kms. of area, 20. Number of veterinary hospitals, veterinary dispensary, Livestock Aid Centres per 100 Sq. Kms. of area.

B. Selected Indicators for Development Potential :

1. Population density, 2. Percentage of Working force, 3. Availability of cultivable land per agricultural family in hectares,

4. Coverage of cultivable land as percent to geographical area, 5. Irrigation potential area can be created by different sources as percent to total available cultivable land, 6. Coverage of irrigation potential area by groundwater development as percent to total available cultivable land, 7. Coverage of forest land as percentage to total geographical area, 8. Coverage of pasture and grazing land as percentage to total geographical area, 9. Road density (all types) per 100 Sq. Kms. of area, 10. Spatial concentration of primary and Middle Schools per 100 Sq. Kms. or area, 11. Spatial concentration of agricultural cooperatives per 100 Sq. Kms. of area.

C. Selected Indicators to measure the Levels of Development among the Scheduled Tribes :

1. Literacy, 2. Female Literacy, 3. Level of urbanisation, 4. Percentage of working force to total population, 5. Percentage of Female Workers to total Workers, 6. Percentage of Secondary working force, 7. Percentage of female workers in secondary activities, 8. Percentage of workers in Industry and manufacturing, 9. Percentage of workers in construction, 10. Percentage of tertiary works, 11. Percentage of female workers in tertiary activity, 12. Percentage of workers in trade and commerce, 13. Percentage of workers in transport and communication, 14. Percentage of workers in other services.

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Impact of Information Sources on the Adoption of High Yielding Paddy Variety

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Agriculture is the main occupation for a large number of tribals in India. Desale (1980) has rightly pointed out that though numerous agricultural plans viz; Tribal Sub-Plan, Tribal Block Development etc. have been in operation to develop this sector, most of these developmental projects paid attention only to the area or regions of assured rainfall. A very little attention is paid to the agricultural development in the areas of hills and mountains inhabited by the tribals. Maharashtra stands sixth in the country with regard to the size of tribal population and shares about 7.3 per cent of total tribal population. Tribal Community in Maharashtra is spread over in Thane, Nashik, Dhule, Ahmednagar, Pune, Yeotmal, Amaravati, Chandrapur and Gadchiroli districts. They are concentrated in three regions viz; western, eastern and northern regions.

Tribals attach special significance to the land and they consider it as their life partner and saviour. However, most of the tribals

possess only small land holdings. It is an established fact that tribal agriculture is mostly of subsistence nature and is characterised by the problems of foodgrains just sufficient to meet their requirements, generally at a low level of living. The use of local seeds, growing of rainfed crops, use of family labour, use of crude tools and implements, production for self consumption constitute the main elements of such agriculture (Raddy & Ramaiiah, 1982). There is hardly any detailed literature available on the tribal farming systems followed by the various tribes in the country and hence there is a need to study agricultural aspects of tribals, as agriculture is the base of any civilization or culture. Tribal development and their agricultural development are closely related to each other. The prosperity generated through the new technology of agricultural production is not being accrued by the tribals in the underdeveloped areas. The farmers in this area are still pursuing the primitive techniques of production

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